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Faction Detected,

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BY THE
EVIDENCE

OF
FACTS.

by John Carl of Egmont

Quò quò scelesti ruitis? Aut cur dexteris
Aptantur enses conditi?

Non ut superbas invidæ Carthaginis
Romanus arces ureret:

Sed ut, secundum vota Parthorum, suâ
Urbs hæc periret dexterâ.

Neque hic lupis mos, nec fuit leonibus
Unquam nisi in dispar feris.

Furorne cæcus, an rapit vis acrior:
An culpa? Responsum date.

Tacent, & ora pallor albus inficit,
Mentesque percussæ stupent.

Hor. Epod. Od. VII.

D U B L I N:

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Faction Detected

BY THE
REV. J. D. H. N. C. F.



THE
MUSEUM
BRITANNICUM
LONDON
1801

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OPPPOSITION to the Measures of Government, whether good or bad, is no new thing in this or any other Country, where the People have any share in the Legislature. For where-ever that Circumstance is found, the Materials for the Advancement of private Views abundantly occur: And in Proportion to the Importance of such a Country, Subjects ambitious of Preferment have more Incentives to urge them on to Pursuits of this Nature, more instruments to assist them in their Undertaking, and more Pretexts to delude and to impose upon the Multitude. The Employments in such a Country must of Necessity be numerous and lucrative, the Engagements of the Publick frequent and expensive, the Dangers from its Neighbours greater, their Jealousy and Ill-will more to be apprehended, and consequently with more Privacy and Caution counteracted. This enables artful Men to raise Murmurs against the most necessary Charges of the State, and to quarrel with the best means of Publick Security with a manifest Advantage, because it is easy to dispute the Wisdom of Measures, which can never be entirely disclosed, till they are fully executed; and the Poison infused into the People has performed its Operation before the Nature of the thing can possibly admit a Detection of the Falsties and Misrepresentations employed against them; while the Publick, already prejudiced, never give themselves the Trouble to examine what is past; either taking more Delight in the Discovery of Error, than in the Pursuit of Truth; or not having the Means furnished with equal Industry; or being diverted by some fresh Objection, started to some new Conduct.

In Proportion to the Riches of any Country, Poverty becomes more pressing upon many by a natural Contrast. In all such Countries the wretched are certainly more wretched than in others which flourish less; because the Necessaries of Life are dear, and not to be had without that Industry, which

Numbers will be found to want, in all Places, however opportune the Means of Employment may be ; and Men of this kind may be industrious in a Faction, which is carried on by Noise, Drunkenness, and Riot, when they can be so in nothing else. In all trading Countries the Prospect of Gain allures many to adventurous Undertakings above their Abilities, by which some must be undone, and these never fail to attribute to Mismanagements of Government, those Evils which arise from their own Sloth, Incapacity, or Avarice—— Again, in such Countries, the Luxury of some induces others to follow them in the same Expence, to the Ruin of themselves and of their Families, and the Generality of these unite in Views of a like Nature.—— And in all populous Countries from a Variety of Distresses, such Objects must be very numerous ; so from the very Numbers of a People alone, Faction always derives a great Advantage, since from the Difference of Dispositions, with which Men are born into the World, some will infallibly arise from time to time, framed by nature itself of a restless and discontented Temper ; form'd, whether they have Cause for it or not, to be as well a Torment to themselves, as a Plague to the Society in which they live.—— Nor can Opposition, right or wrong, want even Property to gild it over and to grace it ; for Men arising from the lowest Level of the People, and advancing into considerable and easy Fortunes, are, by a natural Consequence, too often led to conspire against that very Felicity, Peace, Quiet, and Prosperity, to which alone they have owed their Existence.—— Arrogance and Pride, without a more than common share of Understanding, are the universal Product of all hasty Advancement. These Men repine at what they never before had Leisure to consider ; that there is still a certain difference between their Condition and that of another Rank, which they cannot remedy by all their Efforts to exceed them in Expence.—— This something, which they find still wanting, sours them with their own State, and inclines them to fall in with any popular Discontent ; partly, to gratify their Vanity in insulting those above them ; and partly, to create a Chaos, out of which they hope to emerge upon a Level with those they envy.—— From whence the Observation holds most true, That all Nations, in proportion to their Increase, grow turbulent and factious, and from this Quarter arise those levelling Schemes, in the Contention for which, sooner or later, Anarchy ensues ; and in process of time, the Loss of that real Liberty, whose sacred Name is so often speciously prophaned by Malice and Ambition. Even Liberty itself, the more perfect it is, produces these Effects more strongly
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for Wantonness and Licentiousness, which are its evil Genii, tempt all depraved Tempers to abuse it, and expose many to the Lash of the Laws, and to the just Indignation of Power; which none, who feel, forgive, however they deserve it. At the same time, the natural Tendency in all Mankind to expect more Favour than they merit, provokes unjust Resentments against Government, and a certain Infirmary (of which we all in some Degree partake) to be uneasy with what we have, and to endeavour after more, inclines Multitudes, either out of Views of private Benefit to themselves, or general Views of encrease of Privilege to the Order in which they stand, to follow any set of Men, who take the Lead in Opposition of any kind.— All these move by a secret Principle to that Quarter where it erects its Standard, be it just or unjust, be it to save or to destroy their Country.

It is obvious from hence, and it is a Truth that cannot be disputed, however it may affect the Credit of many pretended Patriots, that the Discontented Party of all Denominations consist *in general* of Men of no Principle, and of every unworthy Character. Its Root is always the same;— but indeed its Effects are very different. It becomes in some Conjunctions of very beneficial Consequence, when it is led by Men of honest Views; and equally pernicious in others, when conducted by Men of a different Character. In the first Case it is an *Opposition*; in the second it is a *Faction*.

Faction is of two kinds in this Country,—— *Opposition led by Republicans*; and *Opposition led by Jacobites*.—— Of the two great Parties into which this Nation has been long divided—— the *Whigs* (though not *Republicans*) have formerly join'd the first—— the *Tories* (though not *Jacobites*) do constantly abet the last.—— They who know the Nature of this Country, who are acquainted with our History, need no Definition or Description of these two Parties, and all who are capable of Observation and Reflection can easily trace the Reasons of their respective Conduct. It is therefore sufficient for us in this Place, and this is a Fact, which cannot be denied; and without a zealous Attachment of one or other of these two Parties, Faction is incapable of doing much Prejudice to *Britain*.

A Faction of the former kind once destroyed the Liberties and Constitution of this Nation. It grew up unobserved with the great Improvements of its Commerce, and was nourished in the uncommon Measures of Prosperity, which arose from a long Tranquility, and a wonderful Encrease of Wealth after the Discovery of the *West Indies*, which diffused itself

through the *Commons*, and gave them Ability to contend with a *Prince*, who, ignorant of this new acquired Vigour of the People, and vainly fond of Power, provoked it by avowed Attempts to introduce an absolute Authority.

This Faction, by the Imprudence of that Prince, appeared at first no more than an honest Opposition. But abetted at length by the Majority of the Nation, (who neither perceived how dangerous it was, nor could have well avoided joining with it, if they had, to preserve themselves against the violent Attack then made upon their Freedom,) grew too strong both for the Prince and for the Laws. The miserable Consequences that it brought upon us are related at large in the histories of *England* from 1642 to 1660.

These Evils of Faction in a Republican Form prevented its Revival again in the same Shape.—The People of *England* had (since the Union of the two Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*) never seen it in another.—They therefore feared it in no other. This gave it Opportunity to shew itself in a new Form, and Opposition became again a Faction in the Reign of the late King *William*, and a Faction of a much more dangerous Nature than the first.

For whereas the Republicans, who are the Leaders of the first Faction, are in this Country little more than Whigs overheated by Oppression, and an extravagant Abuse of Power ; as in reality there is very little of that Principle existing among Men of Property and Fortune, and as it is chiefly confined to Men of an inferior Class ; they may be easily brought to moderate their Views by what it is in the Power of every honest Government to apply : But the Leaders of the second Faction set out with Expectations, that no Government, without being *felo de se*, can gratify. For they set out upon the View of changing the Princes upon the Throne, and in necessary consequence to transform the Constitution and Religion of the Kingdom.

In a word, a Jacobite Faction assumed the Shape of Opposition in that Reign ; that is, the People under the Circumstances I have mentioned, and the Discontented of all Denominations acted in a Party, directed either secretly or openly by Leaders, whose Views intended the Restoration of King *James II.* or of his Family.

Now that this Faction was more dangerous than that which had appeared before, is farther manifest from hence. That the *Republicans* professed a Principle, and of a kind, which led them to do very great and glorious things. Their Zeal was indeed mistaken, but it clash'd in its Pursuit, neither with the Honour nor the Independency of their Country, and the Strength of
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this Party lay in the Accession of those who had the greatest Share of Sense and Honesty.-----They were therefore steady in every Conjunction to defend the Nation against its Enemies abroad, and particularly against its most dangerous Enemy of all, the *French*; and unless in Times of extream and rare Necessity, were deserted constantly by their *Auxiliaries the Whigs*, before they could bring their Scheme to any mature Effect.

But the *Jacobite Faction* professed no Principle at all, or such as deserves the Name of none.---They had indeed a View, but it was private Title, the Interest of one Man, and of one Family. An Object in itself unworthy any Party and criminal too in the highest Degree, in this Instance, because it was the private Title, and the Interest of a Man and Family, who by their Education and Religion were nourished in a fatal Enmity to their Country.---These Men therefore from the indispensable Nature of this their first View, could be animated with no good Sentiment for the Publick, and from the Circumstances of their Case, were obliged to assist the Ambition, support the Power, and abet the Views of *France*, by whose Force alone they could hope to bring their Point to bear. Their Opposition therefore tended in every Step to destroy the Honour and Independency of their own Country. The Strength of their Party lay in the Accession of those who were the weakest and most dishonest Men; for who else could join in such a View as this; and therefore as all who furnished them assistance must be either tainted in their Principles to their Country, or wrong in their Heads before they could engage with them, their Conduct was constant, or wilful Error; and thus their *Auxiliaries the Tories*, if ever they separated from their Faction, never did it till it was almost too late, and never saw that they were deceived, or that they blindly concurred to the Ruin of their Country, till Ruin was at the very Gate.

It is visible from hence, that there is much less Danger from a *Republican* than from a *Jacobite*; or in softer Terms, from a *Whig* than from a *Tory Opposition*. A Whig Opposition is therefore that alone with which the People for many Years have ventured to concur, and the only one with which they can for a Moment concur safely.

But even when they follow this, they are not always without some Danger. For when Opposition under any Title rises high, and becomes formidable, demanding such Terms, as Government is honestly under equal and real Difficulty either to grant or to refuse, the Symptoms are strong, and the Suspicion generally just, that such an Opposition is converted into Faction.---Nor can the Generality of Men distinguish easily of what Species it may be; for both the *Republican Principles*, and the

the *Jacobite Views*, being long since sufficiently detected, and being therefore both become detestable to all honest Men ; both the one and the other are extremely careful not to allow their respective Pursuits.--- When they take off the Mask with greatest Freedom, the *Republicans* denominate their Faction by no harsher Name than that of a *Whig*, nor the *Jacobites* than that of a *Tory Opposition*.--- Nor would the *Whigs* be brought to support the one, nor the *Tories* to abet the other without this Artifice ; and yet by this Delusion of Names, both Parties have been at different Times led on till they have very near destroyed the Constitution. In fact, every Faction will, without Scruple, assume any Appellation to impose upon Mankind ; and the most inveterate Jacobite Faction, to carry its View, will profess to act upon a Whig Principle, when that becomes the favourite Principle, as it is at this Time. An Opposition therefore may become Republican or Jacobite, when the Vulgar little conceive it to be either. The Judgment must be formed not upon what Men call themselves, but upon what they do, upon what they act, upon what is the visible Tendency of their Measures and Pursuits.--- Whether they are a Faction or not, or of what Species their Faction is, can be determined only by their Conduct, and may be infallibly determined by that means. Now the Criterion of a Whig Conduct, is (as may be collected from what we have already observed) *to resist and reduce the Power* and the Criterion of a Jacobite or Tory Faction, *directly or indirectly, to assist, encourage, and support the Interests of France*.

This I have premised to give a general Idea of the Nature of Opposition, and of Faction in this Country, that I may with more Facility lay open to the Publick what I have to offer as to the Opposition of this Time--- and which I think it my Duty to offer, because I will be bold to affirm, that they are grossly deceived in it, and that instead of pursuing a Whig Opposition, which they conceive it to be, they now abet and support a *Tory Opposition, and a Jacobite Faction, which from the Circumstances of this Time, and the Impudence of its proceeding, is become more dangerous than ever that Faction yet has been in this Nation*.

Had this been asserted two Years ago, it would have met with nothing but Ridicule, and it would have been impossible to have induced the Majority of the People of *England* to have believed that the Jacobites could ever have given this Country any Uneasiness again.--- The Reason is very evident.

All the ill Humours of this Nation collected together had, for several Years last past, combined a very strong Opposition ; but this Opposition was led by Whigs, by Men known to be of this Principle, that they had the Ascend-

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ant both by their superior Abilities and Experience, and by the Turn of the Nation, to such a Degree, that they kept down all Efforts of the Jacobites. They directed the Means of Opposition; and the Tendency was therefore to Points wholly free from any Symptoms of that kind. The Tories and Jacobites sullenly worked on under these Leaders, and could never attain any Degree of Influence over Men of better Parts, and better Principles; they knew not directly whither they were going, but they hoped towards Confusion, and that they might have a Chance to work out something if that confusion should arise.—The People at the Beginning of this Opposition, which lasted near twenty Years, were living in great Numbers, who remembred the Conduct of this Faction in the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Anne*.—They remembered how after King *William* was seated upon the Throne, and after being grown detestable by various Attempts of Plots and Assassinations, they had been obliged to soften their true Name in that of *Tory*; how under that Title they had disclaimed their secret Tenet, and professed only to maintain certain Opinions as to *Church and State*, which had been plausibly introduced among the People in the great Rebellion by the Clergy, and inculcated from the Pulpit, to make a Party against the violent Doctrines of the Republicans of that Time.—The wrong Opinions of the one begot those wrong Opinions of the other: And though the *Passion of the first* had been disgraced by the Issue of that Rebellion, the *Nonsense of the other* had not yet disgraced itself so far.—The *Presbyterians* had ruined both the Church and Monarchy; but the *High Churchmen* had not brought in Popery and arbitrary Power, they had even assisted (at last) in some Degree at the Revolution to keep it out.—The Publick in general were not able to judge but of what they saw; and they did not see how near they were to have done both before they had the Sense to stop, nor how they were puzzled to reconcile their Nonsense with that Conduct. These therefore were the favourite Party of that Time.—Of these the *Jacobites* laid hold:—All this the People, during the late Opposition, saw very clearly; (for many, as I have observed, were at the Commencement of it living, when the *Jacobites*, thus under the name of *Tories*, led the Opposition of that Time;) how the People were deluded by it; whither they were carried, and what Pretences they had used.

They remembered that this Faction set out with a furious pretended Zeal for Monarchy, Non-Resistance and Hereditary Right; they remembered how they stirred up the People with

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with imaginary Dangers about the Church ; they remembered above all the infamous Endeavours used to distress the Government in its Attempt to reduce the Power of *France*, and to prevent the Exertion of our own Weight to maintain the Ballance of *Europe*.—The various Means exercised by different Persons at the same time according to their different Capacities to effect this End, and according to the different Capacities of those upon whom they practised—sometimes pretending that we had nothing to do with Affairs upon the Continent——sometimes that the View of reducing *France* was impracticable, that the Expence was not possible to be borne, that our Trade was ruined——sometimes that *France* was really not dangerous——equally magnifying every Success of that Power to terrify, equally misrepresenting every Defeat to betray their Countrymen into a false Security——ridiculing every Measure that was taken for that End——insinuating, that the king was a *Dutchman*, and had only the Interest of *Holland* at Heart—that every Alliance was made for the Interest of the *Dutch* alone—that the Nation was beggared for a Foreign View—that the King delighted in War, because it afforded a Pretext to maintain great Armies—that *Holland* was not yet attacked, and that the *French* King, whatever he proposed, could never be rash enough to attempt that—at least that till he did attempt it, this Nation had no Reason to stir, nor any thing to fear.

They remembered this Conduct, and they remembered how by poisoning the People by these and an Infinity of other false Insinuations, and with Misrepresentations of the Expence which they themselves rendered infinitely more grievous, by the Obstruction given to the Supplies, and the necessity, which proceeded from thence, of borrowing large Sums at high Interest, they laid the first foundation for the Debt under which the Nation yet labours—That by these means they at length reduced the King to the Necessity of consenting to the Partition Treaty, for which they reviled and abused him, and raised the Ferment of the People upon him, though it was the Infant of their own Faction—That by this means they preserved *France* in the Zenith of her Power, at leisure to prepare against the Death of the King of *Spain*, an Event which was expected every Day—That though the Prospect of a new War was so immediate and so certain, they forced the Reduction of the Army to seven thousand Men ; so that when the War of 1702 broke out, before the *Grand Alliance* could take place, by the Management of these faithful and steady Friends of *France*, that Prince was enabled to make an entire Seizure of the *Spanish* Monarchy ; and to strengthen himself to such a Point, as to carry on a War against
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most of the Powers of *Europe* for twelve successive Years, to which *England* alone contributed above seventy Millions.

They remembered farther, that though this pernicious Conduct had estranged the Nation from them for a time, and had cast the Administration of Affairs into the Hands of the Whigs ; during which whole Period, this Nation was attended with the most amazing Series of Successes ever read of in History ;) that the same Men continued the same Practices, till by low Arts, they had frightened, and by Infamous Insinuations gained both upon her and upon the People, still concealing their grand View till they had got to the Administration.

They remembred farther (though it seems to be forgotten now) what they did when they came there.-----That they betrayed the *Faith* of this *Nation* and deserted the *Allies*.-----That they did it with Circumstances, which clearly proved their Intention to yield them up a sacrifice to *France*.-----That they made a separate and an infamous Peace, by which they saved *France* from inevitable and immediate Ruin, and cast away that immense Treasure, which had been expended in the War, entailing a future Expence still greater even than that they had thus iniquitously thrown away ; exposing us to greater Danger than we had even then escaped, laying a Foundation for her Restoration to the same Point of Power, and preventing at the same time, by their Perfidy to the Confederates, as far as in them lay, all Probability of the same Union to obstruct her Views again.

They remembred how clearly and how steadily this Plan of serving *France*, had been pursued, and how it was brought to its full Effect.-----And they remembered how near their Grand View, to which this was secondary, was brought to an Issue too.-----In what manner before the Death of the Queen, they had deeply laid the Plot of abusing her Authority to bring the Pretender to the Throne.-----How notwithstanding their affected Loyalty to their Royal Mistress, by which they had not only duped her, but deceived the Nation ; they basely meditated her Ruin, to whose Weakness they owed their Advancement.-----How by their dark Intrigues they broke her declining Constitution and caused her Death.-----The only Service they ever did her ; sending that unhappy Princess, by this Precipitation of her Fate, to a better World, before she had experienced in this far worse Calamities, which they were preparing for her ; the Loss of her Crown and Dignity, perhaps a violent End, at least Imprisonment for Life.

They remembered the Deliverance of this Nation by the Accession of his late Majesty in the most critical Conjunction.

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——They remembered the Confidence of this Conspiracy, which had ripened so far in four Years Tory Administration, that they thought themselves able to effect that by Force, when they had lost all Power, which could not have been defeated had they continued a few Months longer in it.——They remembered the late Rebellion, which broke out immediately after, and which was suppressed, more by the Interposition of Divine Providence, than by any human Means.

Remembering all this, the last Scene of which happened not eleven Years before the Commencement of the late Opposition, which may be properly dated from the *Hanover Treaty* in 1725.——The People could not entertain a Fear of a Tory Faction.——This Scene of Wickedness had so fully detected those, who set themselves in the Front of such a Faction, that even the Tories themselves blushed to see the Tools they had been made ; and trembled equally with the Whigs, at the Hazards which their Folly had brought upon the Nation ; such as, to do them equal Justice, their *Heads* had never comprehended, nor their *Hearts* ever intended to promote.——The shameless Conduct of that Administration, with Regard to *France* and the *Pretender*, caused an universal Aversion to the Tories , and many of them, sensible of the Errors of their former Conduct, retained nothing of what they were but the Name.——The whole Nation appeared united in a warm Attachment to the present Royal Family.——The Faction of which we speak, sensible of their wounded Interest, hardly shewed themselves in any Shape, for some Years.——Any new Opposition, avowedly begun by them in that Conjunction, would have ruined them for ever.——*Their Arts and their false Pretences were too recent to impose upon Mankind.——And their Conversion, had they pretended any, would have been too sudden and unnatural to have gain'd Belief.*

As Security rarely fails to be the Mother of Danger, so it was with us,——This seeming security deceived both the *Minister* and the *Publick*. I shall speak frankly and without Partiality to either.——It tempted him to act with too much Wantonness, and Negligence in Power.——It tempted *others* too much to indulge their Resentment and private Views.——The Faction was no longer dreaded but despised.——When that has been the Case, it has been always found at length.

*Incedimus per Ignes
Suppositos cineri doloso.*

The Minister, void of all Apprehension of this latent Danger, gratified his ill Humour to, or took no Pains to manage the
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the ill Humours of those he happened to dislike, neglected Popularity too much, and studied only how to avoid War, as the Means to procure the Continuance and the Ease of his Administration.——He knew that in War, if not successful, the ill Success is always attributed to the Minister.——If fortunate, that it was unavoidably attended with great Expence, at which, in the long run, the People murmur.——He likewise saw, that in War, military Men, and active Spirits must, by degrees, obtain some Share of Power ; which he was determined to engross.——All *Europe* quickly saw this Foible, and the two Powers, from whom we have to fear the most, the *French* and *Spaniards*, play'd him off unmercifully.——Their Methods were different, but both tending to the same End.——The *French* flattered him with an insidious Friendship, and the Affectation of a Pacifick Disposition.——The *Spaniards* bullied him upon every Turn.——It must be candidly confessed that the Peace of *Utrecht* in 1713, and the Difficulties unadjusted then, had greatly embarrassed all the Affairs of *Europe*.——*France* and the Emperor had agreed by the Treaty of *Rastadt*, and *Baden* the following Year ; but great Differences between the Emperor and *Spain* subsisted till long after this Minister was taken into that Employment.——His Predecessors had been puzzled with these Differences.——And in endeavouring to appease them, had, by the Quadruple Alliance, and several subsequent Treaties and Proceedings, in a great Degree disgusted both those Powers. At the Time therefore, when the Reins of this Government were put into his Hands, it required greater Abilities for Foreign Affairs, and another Turn to extricate this Nation out of these difficult Circumstances.——Instead of adhering firmly to the Emperor, this Minister yielded to the Views of *Spain*, who insulted us till she had carried one Point, and then insulted us again, till she had obtained another.——The Minister still vainly flattering himself with gaining that Power by constant Obligations.——But the Queen, who governed there, knew neither any Sentiment of Gratitude, nor any Limits to her Ambition.——By this Conduct he still provoked the Emperor to a higher Degree, which *Spain* observing, took that Opportunity to accommodate her own Affairs with the Imperial Court.

This sudden Friendship between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* alarmed the Minister, who knew he had not the Friendship of the one Court, whatever he had done and suffered for it ; and that he had justly incurred the Resentments of the other. He therefore grew jealous of this Union, and dreaded some Effect from it, though he knew not what.——

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He apprehended that the Peace of *Europe* was upon the Point of being disturbed again ; and without considering the Nature of such Disturbance, that it could not prejudice this Country ; that it was on the contrary, the most desirable Event, that could have happened, and that *France* could alone have Reason to consider this Union with a jealous Eye :—— He suffered himself to be imposed upon by imaginary Fears, insinuated by *France*, and immediately exerted himself to form a Confederacy against the *Emperor* and *Spain*, whose Union was effected by themselves, for no other Reason but because we had refused to mediate for them ; and that neither Decency nor Resentment could permit *Spain* to accept the Mediation of *France*, from whom she had received a recent Indignity of a very high Nature, by sending back the *Infanta*, who had been betrothed to the King of *France*.

This Confederacy which went by the Name of the *Hanover Treaty*, was concluded between *France*, *Prussia*, and *Great Britain*, the 23d of *September*, 1725, about four Months after the Treaty between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, concluded at *Vienna*.——The late King of *Prussia* was then living, and it is obvious by the Conduct of the *Son*, what Views the *Father* might have had to induce him, among other Discontents with the *Imperial Court*, to come into this Measure.——And it was still much more obvious, why *France* should have joined in a Project, which was of her own Invention, and the only Measure, that could have recovered her out of the most dangerous Situation that she was ever in.——The House of *Bourbon* was divided against itself, and she was very sensible it could not have stood if this Alliance between the *Emperor* and *Spain* had continued in Force.——The natural Antipathy of the *Imperial Court*, and the Resentment of *Spain* to *France*, too naturally accounted for the Sums remitted from the *Spanish Court* to *Vienna*, and the vast Encrease of the *Imperial Armies*——These Armies could not have waded through the Ocean to have attacked *Great Britain* : The *Emperor* had not a single Ship to bring them hither, and the Fleets of *Spain* had been destroyed in the *Mediterranean* in the Year 1718——Had it therefore been as solemnly true, as it was undoubtedly false, that those Stipulations had been made in the *Vienna Treaty* to affect *Great Britain*, which the Minister had been imposed upon himself, or desired to impose on others, to believe, *Great Britain* must have been out of its Senses to have been alarmed at them.—A Squadron of Ships of War set upon the Coasts of *Spain*, and another of Observation on our own Coasts together with the Body of Forces always maintained at home, would have

have prevented all Possibility of the smallest Danger of Invasion, which can never be justly feared but from *France* alone, or *France* and *Spain* united, a Case visibly not then existing, and more remote than it ever was.—The *French* therefore well knew that these Preparations must have been designed against themselves; and if the very distant Sound of War had not terrified the Minister to the Loss of his Wits, we might probably have seen an Event at that Time, which we shall probably never have in our Power to see again.—The House of *Bourbon* ruined by itself, and *France* reduced, without the Expence of a single Shilling to this Country.

We have now seen *France* preserved, and the House of *Austria* confederated against by its natural and old Ally *Great Britain*; we have seen the same effected by the Pusillanimity of a *Whig Minister*, which was the constant View of a *Tory Administration*—The same honest Zeal which animated the Whigs against the Tories, most justly and indispensibly induced many of them to enter into an Opposition to an Administration, who with different Principles pursued the same End—This will warrant, before God and Man, the Opposition that we have lately seen—It shews that it was carried on upon Whig Principles; that it was the grand Principle of humbling *France*, and of assisting the House of *Austria*, to which they adhered, and which they intended to maintain by this Opposition—It was not a Quarrel about particular Laws or Alterations of the Constitution, as it is now falsely suggested to have been. Something of this kind is attempted in the Course of every Opposition, and something of Moderation, to be done, to confine Government to its first Principles, and proper to be attempted in some Conjunctions, even in a further Degree than it is intended to be done, to keep Ministers of a certain Character in Awe, and to maintain the People in a Sense of their Advantages, which such Ministers, without that lively Sense in them, might have it otherwise in their Power to impair—But these were secondary Views; the grand Point intended, and what these were employed only as Engines to effect, was to remove the Minister, and to bring back the Councils of this Country to its true Interest.

This Conjunction was now come, which had been long impatiently expected by the Faction—Confusion was begun—and the Government attacked without the least Appearance that the Faction had been the Authors of it—The Whigs who opposed did it with great Vigour, but were still known to be true in their Principles, both to the King and to the Constitution—The Faction, who could not, as I have already observed, venture to
have

have avowedly begun a new Opposition themselves, or practiced their former Arts, which were too recent to impose upon Mankind, or pretended a Conversion, which would have been too sudden and unnatural to have gained Belief, found the Occasion extremely apt to busy themselves again—They would have joined with the Minister, who was now indiscreetly doing what they wished, if they had believed he had wished it too ; but as they knew he did it by a kind of fatal necessity, which a Series of Errors had induced, they knew that neither he, nor that Part of the *Whigs*, who continued to support him, some through the same Blindness, some through Gratitude to *him*, some through the very Apprehension of *them*, and some for other Reasons ; yet none of them did it upon *their* Views, or would ever concur to bring it to *their* desired Conclusion.—They therefore knew, that they would sooner or later change this conduct, and that besides they would never join with them.—The only Game they therefore had to play, was to act an under Part with this Whig Opposition—By this Conduct they had a double Policy ; *first*, to concur in raising the Ferment of the Nation to the highest Point they could (which by long Observation never was yet raised since the Revolution, but that it took a Turn in the Favour of their great View) and *secondly*, to efface the Suspicions that the Nation entertained of them.

As the grand Criterion of the Conduct of the two Parties is, as I have already observed, of the *Whigs*, to oppose the Growth of the Power of France, and of the *Tories*, to advance the Interest of that Power—The Faction concurring in this Opposition, which so directly formed itself upon the Whig Principle, exerting themselves with the utmost Rancour and seeming Sincerity, against the Minister, for his Conduct with Regard to *France*, uniting in all the popular Bills, and Republican Propositions, (which were by this, and have commonly been by all Whig Oppositions, more especially indulged,) and being silent upon the Topicks of passive Obedience, Non-resistance, and the Danger of the Church, from all these Circumstances joined to a Partiality to believe well of those who assist us, let the Motives be what they will, and a Tendency to disbelieve the Minister, who very constantly rung the Alarm against their secret Principles, all which was improved by the most solemn Assurances of their good Intentions ; they at length wrought upon the Publick to believe, that their Views were intirely changed—Many were by this Time dead, who remembered all those Arts and Practices which I have formerly mentioned, and a new Race were by this Time sprung up in their Room, by their Age, and the Nature of Youth, susceptible of light Impressions, actuated by warm Passions, and ignorant of what had passed before their Times.

Times.—To this were added such a Series of Mistakes, and such unfortunate Events, as brought the Interests of all our Allies, and consequently the Interests of *Britain*, into the utmost Danger, the Minister still unavoidably blundering on, not able to make a Peace, nor to carry on a War—Harassing the Country by great and fruitless Expences to provide Forces against Events, which were neither sufficient to answer the End, and which he never had resolution to employ towards the End—bubbled by *France*, insulted by *Spain*, hated by the Publick. Thus the Resentments of the Nation rose at last so high, that they became incapable to consider any Danger, or to suspect any Treachery but from him.—In this Situation of Affairs it is easy to account why the Faction still subsisted, and why it must have been a vain, perhaps not a wise Attempt at that Time, to have endeavoured to have convinced the Publick that they did.—The Whigs in the Opposition thought honestly, and they thought truly, that the Nation was inevitably ruined, if this Minister continued to influence our Councils longer. The House of *Austria*, which is as much the Barrier to the Liberties of *Britain* as the strong Towns of *Flanders* are to the *Dutch Republick*, was reduced to the lowest Ebb, and upon the very Brink of utter Destruction.—No effectual Means proposed, no Means in this Situation possible to give it any Assistance. In this Condition they were forced to use the Aid of any Set of Men whatever, to procure the Removal of this Minister; and they thought they might depend safely upon the national Experience of the past Behaviour of the Faction, upon the Integrity and Well-meaning of the Generality of the People, upon the real Excellency and peculiar Blessings of this Constitution, never in any Event to be overborn by either a Jacobite or Tory Faction.—In fine, they trusted to their own Influence, which then governed and directed the whole Opposition without Controul, to settle and consolidate the Principles of the Nation, as soon as the Minister was removed and his Measures rectified.

These are the true, and they are sufficient Reasons to explain why the Nation gradually lessened in its Apprehension of this Faction, why the Tories thus combined were conceived to be no longer what they had been formerly. But the Whigs, who led the Opposition, and were most considerable in it, who now compose the Administration in Part, and who now oppose no longer, were not so easily deceived.—They could not but observe the Views of these Men in their pretended Coalition with them.—They could not avoid seeing (though they prevented, and discouraged them as much as they could, and kept them down in a very great Degree) the malevolent En-

deavours of these Men, to poison the Minds of the People against the Royal Family, and to give the general Discontent a Tendency to Disaffection against the *Prince* upon the Throne; which they laboured wholly to confine to the Person of the *Minister*.—They saw too evidently to be duped by any of their Pretences, that they maintained the same Inveteracy to the Whigs.—They supported no Whig in any Election, where they could possibly avoid it, without a Detection of themselves, or the Ruin of an Opposition so convenient to their View.—The Whigs even saw much more, which in that Circumstance it was not their Interest to discover to the Publick, that they endeavoured, by refusing to concur in several personal Propositions against the Minister, to try whether they could not induce him to strike a separate Bargain with themselves—and at the close of the Opposition, in the first Sessions of this Parliament, when they adhered more firmly to these personal Propositions, they knew it was because the Minister had not caught at the Bait they had thrown out for him, and was not to be deluded by their Arts.

From all that we have here observed, it is very notorious, that the last Opposition was a *Whig Opposition*, and not a *Tory Faction*. That the plain Origin, and avowed Views of this Opposition, were the Removal of the Minister, and the Change of his Measures.—That when this was done, they, from the very Beginning of that Opposition, intended no more, never meant, nor were ever expected to maintain it longer.—That it would have been inconsistent with their avowed Professions, and with their real Principles, if they had.

It is farther obvious, that the Tory Faction, though they concurred with them, had done it without either *Principle* or *Affection*, and never had the Influence to give this Opposition any Taint or Colour, nor were they suffered to compass one publick Measure of their own.—That the Whigs though they could not refuse the Concurrence of their Votes, and their Assistance, to swell the Number of Opponents, never pretended, or had any real Friendship with them, nor ever had Reason from their Sincerity to have it, much less ever gave them any Encouragement to hope that they would join with them any longer, than till they had changed the *Minister*, and changed the *Measures*.

If then it shall appear, that the Minister and the Measures are now changed—If it shall appear, that these men after this commenced a new Opposition, when the principal Whigs, who before directed the Opposition, had done with that Direction,—What Man can deny, *that the Leaders of the late Opposition have acted*

acted consistently and honestly both in their first Beginnings to oppose—and then in desisting to oppose at the Time they did.

And if it should appear, that the *Whig* Leaders of the late Opposition, though they had no further Connexion with these Men after that Change of the Minister, and the Measures, was effected, which was the only View they intended or professed, or concurred with these Men in, did yet endeavour, out of a Desire to destroy (as much as in them lay, and till they found it an *Utopian* Undertaking) the Evil of *Parties* in general, and the Distinction of *Tory* in particular, by using their Influence to advance many of these, (who seemed the least violent) into Employments, where they might be placed without the Danger of their influencing the publick Measures, and where they might have given Probation of their Sincerity.—If they had actually in a very few Days begun to do this, and if it will appear that for no other visible Reason but this, that the *Tories* and *Jacobites* were not permitted to take the Government by Storm, and that their Ambition could not be satisfied, or their Views answered, without those Employments were conferred upon them, which would inevitably give them the Power of influencing the publick Measures; and if their Terms were such as to force their whole Faction into the Administration, without allowing the Prince to except against a single Man, and their Impatience, such as to desert their Leaders, and to form a new Party before they had given them any reasonable Time—What Man can have the Confidence to deny, that they acted *not only with greater Friendship to these Men than they deserved, but with as much Honour as it was in human Power honestly to do?*

And thirdly, if it should appear, that by this new raised Opposition, it is the manifest View to do that, which, as we have already observed, is the Criterion of the Conduct of a *Jacobite* Faction, viz. *to advance the Interests of France*; and if this manifest View is now followed by the very same wicked Arts and Measures, which that Faction in all former Periods have pursued, I may be justified in that Assertion which it is my Point principally to prove—*That the Opposition of this Time is not an Opposition, but a Faction, and that of the most dangerous kind to this Nation.*

Now that this is true, and rather to illustrate than to prove this (for Things self-evident, and what arises from the Recollection of Facts, neither will admit, nor stands in need of Proof) I shall make it the Plan of my Discourse in the following Sheets:—First, *To shew the State of our Affairs, as they stood previous to the Change of the late Ministry, and to give a short Deduction of the Conduct of the Opposition, till the Whigs and the present Faction*

separated from each other.—I shall then observe the Conduct of the Faction thus separated from the Whigs to the End of that Sessions of Parliament.—I shall in the third Place observe the Conduct of the new Administration, the Success of their Measures, and the Difference that appeared in the Situation of our Affairs upon the second Meeting of the Parliament.—I shall shew in the next place, the farther Measures of the Faction in their Attempts to delude the People, in their Methods of Opposition, and the Tendency of both.—I shall then proceed to offer a few candid Reflections upon those popular Topics, which are the Engines principally used to play upon the Passions of the People, and to divert them from a cool Reflection of the true Condition of our Affairs in this Conjunction, and conclude with some general Considerations, which will lead the Publick to a just Sense of those Dangers to which they are exposed, by a further Concurrence with what is now plausibly called by the tender Name of the present Opposition.

We have already mentioned the Conduct of the Minister with regard to the Emperor, Spain and France, at the time of the *Hanover-Treaty*, which throwing this Nation into the Arms of France, and breaking off from our old and natural Connexion with the House of Austria, divided the Whig Interest, and was the Ground of the late Opposition.—We are now to see the Measures afterwards pursued by the same Minister, and the Consequence they had.—But before I quit this Subject of the *Hanover-Treaty*, which was the fatal Ground of all our present Confusion, to confirm what I have already said with regard to the just Alarm the Whigs took at it, I must observe, that by a separate Article of this Treaty, Great-Britain engaged, “in case War should be declared by the Empire against France, that though she was not comprized in the Declaration of such War, Great-Britain should act in Concert with France till such War should be determined;” and by Virtue of the third Article of the same Treaty, “should, if Necessity required, declare War upon the Empire.” And thus, says a ^a Foreigner, who is quoted often upon Occasions of this Nature, and cannot be suspected of any Party Concern in the Affairs of this Country,—By this Treaty the Duke of Bourbon, then First Minister to the Most Christian King, brought to Maturity what his Predecessor had projected, and France at length attained what she had so long wished, and for which she had in vain expended such immense Sums in the preceding Reign.

The Consequence immediate upon the Conclusion of this Treaty, was a vast additional Expence.-----And without all Doubt, the Rashness of this Measure had engaged us in a War, which

^a Roussel, vol. II. fol. 188.

which would have ruined the Balance of Power in *Europe* without Resource, (the Powers of the grand Alliance being now upon the Point of pursuing the Destruction of each other, with the same determined Rancour, which they had formerly exerted against their common Enemy the *French*,) if the Emperor, notwithstanding the Pride and Insolence, of which he was accused, and the shameful Indignity with which he was treated, observing the Danger in which we had, by our *unnatural Apprehensions*, involved ourselves, had not, with an happy Moderation, himself opened a Way, (in a very uncommon Manner, through the Channel of a Nuncio of the Pope at *Venice*,) to bring this Matter to an Accommodation; so that at length, upon the Suspension of the *Ostend Company*, which was one of the pretended Subjects of the Quarrel, a new *Preliminary Treaty* was signed at *Vienna*, in *June 1727*; which quieted our Ministerial Fears of a general War in some degree for a Time: During this Interval we sustained an immense Expence in defending *Gibraltar*, raising troops at home, and hiring Troops abroad, the inestimable Loss of many thousands of our Seamen, and the Ruin of the never-to-be-forgotten Squadron sent with *Hofier*, to rot in Sight of the Treasures of *Peru* and *Mexico*, at *Porto-Bello*.

But there yet remained great Matter of Anxiety; for *Spain*, under frivolous Pretences, which shewed her manifest Contempt for the *British* Minister, refused to ratify this *Preliminary-Treaty*, and continued her Hostilities, till the *Emperor*, with great Candour, detesting this Chicane, took part with our Court against her.---And *Spain*, finding no Support, was at length obliged to accede by a new Act signed at the *Pardo*, the 4th of *March*, 1728.---By which it was agreed, that all Hostilities should cease, and all the Differences between *Great Britain* and *Spain* be submitted to the Decision of a future Congress.

The Minister, sensible of the Danger he had escaped, was glad of the Opportunity, which offered itself in that Congress (which was held at *Soissons*) to reunite with the Imperial Court.---Notwithstanding all the Indignities that had passed, and all the Provocations he had received, the Emperor retained so just a Sense both of his Obligations, and his Interest to cultivate the ancient Friendship of the House of *Austria* with *Great-Britain*, that he was willing to overlook all that was passed; and as his Union with *Spain* before, had given so much Umbrage, here he thought, by raising Difficulties, and by delaying the Execution of some Articles of the former Treaty with *Spain*, he should give us Proofs of his Sincerity.---But alas! he had not yet experienced what he had to suffer from the pacific Councils, or (as they are

termed by the great Conductor of them himself,) the *preventive and defensive* Measures of the *British* Minister.—*Spain* was incensed at this Conduct, and at the Emperor's candid Behaviour with regard to the *Preliminary Articles*; we now began to be as much frightened at the *Variance*, as we had been terrified before with the *Union* of these two Powers; we had practised our *defensive* as we have seen; we must now try our Skill in *preventive* Measures, and with the like Success.

The Emperor's Conduct deserved the Gratitude of the whole Nation; and merited the best Returns that could have been made him.—On the other hand, during this whole time, even after the signing the Act at the *Pardo*, *Spain* had treated us with the utmost Insolence, taken and plundered all the Vessels of this Nation, that fell into her Hands, with as little Reserve as if we had been at open War. These Circumstances together should, in all human Wisdom, have induced the Minister, to have laid aside his old Way of alliancing with *France*, to have improved the Misunderstanding between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, and to have endeavoured, with the utmost Vigour, to crush that Insolence of *Spain* by force, which he saw visibly, was not to be reclaimed by generous Usage, by the Moderation of suffering her to declare War without any reciprocal Declaration on our Part, by our signal Abstinence from a Seizure of above four Millions Sterling in *America*, nor by the Patience we had exercised under so many Indignities, Insults, and continued Depredations. But instead of doing this, in Conjunction with his good Ally the *French*, he concluded a new Treaty with *Spain*, which was signed at *Seville*, the 9th of *November*, 1729.

The Emperor, who had shewn himself so truly desirous of preserving the Peace of *Europe*,—who had acted with so much Moderation and Candour, to preserve the Friendship of this Nation, was not acquainted in the least with this Treaty, till it was concluded;—it was kept secret from him; and no Wonder,—for it contained an Article which has since proved, as we have seen, and as he always foresaw it would, of the most fatal Consequence to his *Italian* Dominions:—This Article was the immediate Admission of 6,000 *Spanish* Troops into the Places of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, to secure the Reversion of those States, after the Deaths of their respective Princes, to *Don Carlos*, which in the *Quadruple Alliance* the Emperor had consented to be done only by *Neutral* Forces, and even that very much against his Inclination.

It may be easily conceived what Effect such a Treatment as this must have had upon the Emperor: It justly gave him the greatest Alarm, as well as raised his Resentment to the highest degree.

gree.—Even in his Conjunction with *Spain* in 1725, intimate, as it had been represented to be, he was never brought by *Spain* to consent to this Alteration,—and what made the Matter still worse, these Territories being Fiefs of the Empire, this arbitrary Settlement with relation to them justly incensed the Empire too.

These *preventive Measures* put us into worse Plight than ever.—*France* had brought us about again, and we were now upon the Point of joining, not only *France*, but of uniting with the whole House of *Bourbon*, not only against the *Emperor*, but the whole *Germanick Body*.—*Spain* and *France* urged us openly and vehemently to compleat these new Engagements.—The *Emperor* in the mean time marched a powerful Army, and filled all *Italy* with his Troops, determined to resist the Execution of this Treaty, which he thus prevented for the whole Year 1730.—The *Minister* was now in Despair, his Fleets at *Spithead* had not terrified the *Emperor's* Armies in *Lombardy*.—But the Resentments of *France* and *Spain* at his Inactivity, and contradictory Proceedings, terrified the Minister.—^a The *Marquis de Castellar*, the *Spanish* Minister at *Paris*, published a Declaration there, by Order of his Master, upon the 28th of *Janury* 1731, with bitter Reproaches against this Conduct, *renouncing all his Engagements with us, professing that he now looked upon himself as intirely at Liberty to act what Part soever he should find most suited to his Interests*. Thus he had visibly disoblighd all Parties, he thought a War inevitable, and himself undone.—His new Treaty of *Seville*, upon which he had plumed himself so proudly, now vanished into Smoke.—But the *Emperor's* good Sense and Moderation saved our Minister once more.—He consented to this ruinous Measure, tho' with Tears in his Eyes.—He consented to admit a Prince of the House of *Bourbon* into *Italy*, whom we were visibly carrying thither to establish in a great Monarchy at the Expence of his Dominions.—Willing not even yet to despair that this Nation would see its Errors at last, he determined to try us once more, and submitted to make this Sacrifice, on condition that we should accede to the *Pragmatic Sanction*, and guaranty the rest of his Dominions to his eldest Daughter.

This Treaty concerning the Admission of the *Spanish* Troops into the *Italian* States, and the *Guaranty* of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, was concluded at *Vienna* the 16th of *March* 1731.—between the *Emperor* and *Great Britain* alone. Its View was to enforce the Treaty of *Seville*.—Yet it was concluded without the Participation either of *France* or *Holland*, who had been the contracting Parties to that of *Seville*.—The *Dutch* were however at length prevailed upon to accede to it.

^a *Roussset*, Vol. VI. fol. 11.

We now began to think again that we had done great Matters, for the present we had pacified the Emperor, and prevented a War.— We obtained a Declaration from the Court of *Spain*, dated at *Seville* the 6th of *June* following, to revoke that of the Marquis *de Castellar*, of the 28th of *January* before mentioned : And as a Proof of the Reconciliation of the second Power, we were permitted to have the Honour, upon the 17th of *October* 1731, to escort the *Spanish* Troops into *Italy*, with a Squadron of sixteen *British* Men of War, at the Expence of 200,000 *l*.

But we are come at length to the final Period of the Success of these *preventive* and *defensive* Measures— they could no longer hold— the whole World clearly saw, to what the Politicks of the *British* Minister amounted,--- and that he was determined to be moved neither by Indignity or Danger.

France had carried her Point, she had heartily regained the *Spaniards* to her Interests, she had destroyed all Cordiality between the *Emperor* and *England*, she had detected the Weakness of this Nation so far, that she saw *she* had nothing to fear, and that *all other Powers* had nothing to hope from *Britain*.— She had been a contracting Party to the Treaty of *Seville*, and we had bound ourselves to enter into no new Engagements without her Concurrence. Yet the late Treaty with the *Emperor*, which was to enforce it, had been concluded without her Participation, nay without her Knowledge.— She highly and loudly resented this Treatment, as a manifest Neglect, an Instance of Contempt, and a publick Affront ; and she had the better Handle to exclaim against us for it, because we had affected to think ourselves so ill used, by the like Conduct of the *Emperor*, with regard to the Treaty of *Vienna* in 1725.— From this Moment she thought of nothing but Revenge, and to avail herself of the Means we had so manifestly given her, to take it with Impunity.

The *Spanish* Troops had not been long landed in *Italy*, before an Alliance was formed between *France*, *Sardinia* and *Spain* to attack the *Emperor's* Dominions in *Italy*.— The King of *Poland's* Death was foreseen, and she took such Measures as she thought had effectually secured the Election of King *Stanislaus* to that Throne.--- With the Assistance of that Prince she projected to have fallen upon the *Emperor's* Hereditary Countries, while she diverted his Forces upon the *Rhine*, and her Confederates employed him in the Defence of *Italy*.--- Not many Months were pass'd before the Minister had a more fatal Cause of Inquietude than ever--- War became inevitable--- his Conduct had delayed it, only to make it fall with more ruinous and irresistible Effect.

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The King of *Poland* died the 21st of *January* O. S. 1732-3. and in *March* following the King of *France* declared that he would support the Election of his Father-in-Law.----The Emperor was sensible of what was preparing for him.----He knew that if this Election took Effect, it would be impossible to resist the Confederacy formed against him.—He therefore took part with the Elector of *Saxony*, now the present, and Son to the late King of *Poland*—Yet endeavouring as much as possible not to give any Pretence to *France*, of attacking him upon this Score, he left it to the *Russian* Arms to support that Prince.—But *France* never wanted a Pretext, when she found herself in a Condition to prosecute her Views by Arms.—Confiding in her Engagements with *Sardinia* and *Spain*, she grounded this Pretext upon the secret Negotiations the Imperial Court had carried on with *Russia* against King *Stanislaus*, declared War, and marched her Armies against the Emperor—while on the other side the 6000 *Spaniards* we had conveyed into *Italy* not a Year before, shewed the Use for which they were designed.—They joined the *Sardinian* Troops, attacked the *Milanese*, and in Conjunction with a Body of Auxiliaries from *France*, soon made an entire Conquest of that Dutchy.

The Emperor confiding in the Engagements we had entered into, so immediately before, to support the *Pragmatic Sanction*, had withdrawn his Troops from *Italy*.—The *French* had attacked him in the Empire, and were endeavouring to bring the *Turk* upon him.—It was impossible for him long to make Head alone against the different Attacks made and meditated upon the Empire itself, and his Hereditary Countries, and to defend his *Italian* Possessions at the same time.—He found himself however able with great Difficulty for that Campaign to maintain his Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and to keep his Footing in the *Mantuan*.—In that perilous Interval he called upon *Great Britain* to execute her late Treaty, he shewed that it was yet in her Power to save *Naples* and *Sicily*, at a small Expence, and by her Fleets alone ; he reproached us with the Ruin we had brought upon him by engaging his Consent to the Introduction of the *Spanish* Troops, and urged the Points both of Honour and National Interest, by which we were obliged so particularly to interfere in this, as our Support and Guaranty had been the only Condition upon which he had given his Consent.—He implored us in the most moving Terms not to desert an old, a faithful, and a sincere Ally, so strictly united by all the Bonds of mutual Affection and mutual Security, in a time of this imminent Distress, a Distress, which our own Councils, and his Acquiescence to them, had reduced him to.

But

But the Minister, totally confounded, knew not how to act at all.—He stood insensible to the Danger both of his Allies, and of his own Country, unmoved equally with the Complaints, Reproaches and Entreaties of the Imperial Court. He sought only to cover his own Shame, by retorting the Blame upon the Emperor.—He reproached him with having brought these Difficulties upon himself by Negotiations with *Russia*, to prevent the Election of King *Stanislaus* to the Throne of *Poland*, and abused him for not submitting to that, which must have reduced him to a Condition incapable of Defence or Relief.—Thus adding the most galling Insults to the most irreparable Injuries, he endeavoured to quiet the Alarms of the People of *Great Britain* by his Emissaries, who were instructed to preach up a Dependence upon the good Faith of *France*, who in her Declaration of War (which she so religiously adhered to, as we have seen) had solemnly engaged to make no Acquisition by it; thus abetting the Cause, and proclaiming both the Justice and Moderation of that perfidious Power.—In the mean while no Alliances were formed to support the Emperor.—The *Dutch*, who had unwillingly been dragged by us into some of our former Treaties, would now treat with us no more; they had been taught by fatal Experience to dread any further Connexion with us. We neither assisted the House of *Austria* with Troops nor Money.—Our Squadrons so ready to be employed to aggrandize the Glory of a *Spanish* Triumph, were not to be hazarded in the Defence of our Allies.—We first permitted the *French* Fleets to sail into the *Baltic* unmolested, with Troops and Supplies to sustain the Cause of *Stanislaus* in the North;—In the next Year we suffered *Spain* to transport a Body of 20,000 Horse and Foot, and without any Attempt to interrupt them, to join their Troops in *Italy*, who before the End of that Year 1734, ravished the Kingdoms of *Sicily* and *Naples* from the Emperor, and added two powerful Kingdoms to the former vast Possessions of the House of *Bourbon*.

Stunn'd with these rapid Successes, and almost inanimate with the Fear of Dangers, in which that very Fear had thus involved the World; the Minister seemed to have forgotten every thing,—during all this Time he did nothing.—But as violent Passions, from the very Cause of their Existence, which is the Weakness of human Nature, cannot be of long Duration, he began to revive a little, and could not refrain, as soon as he did, to attempt again to exercise his Talent of Negotiation; to which the Self-opinion of his Brother, and his own Apprehension of Arms, had given him an obstinate, fatal, and incorrigible Turn.—He began to make Proposals,

posals, and to offer his Mediation to the Courts both of *Paris* and *Vienna* :—But the Court of *Vienna* severely wounded with these repeated Cruelties, Indignities and Ill Usage, in the midst of her deepest Calamity, disdained and detested to treat with him any more ;——and *France*, though she had reaped so much Advantage from his Conduct, equally contemned the Man, to whom she owed it all. For even they, who profit by Infidelity and Weakness, abhor the Authors of it.—Nothing proves the wretched Condition to which we had reduced ourselves, and the Opinion she entertained both of our Councils and our Arms, better than the Answer made to these *Proposals*, by the King of *France* ; which was concluded in these Words,—*I will do my utmost Endeavour in Germany to weaken my Enemies ; I have already declared that I would not keep Possession of any of the Places I should take.—Let England rest satisfied with this Promise.—She would have pleased me in her Mediation, if she had not at the same Time armed herself.—But I would have her to know, that no Power in Europe shall give Law to me. And this you may tell your Master.*

Thus despised and treated as we justly deserved by all the Powers of *Europe*, *France* herself extended more Compassion to her greatest Enemy than we had shewn to our best Ally.—She now thought herself secure of laying the Foundation of such Debility in the House of *Austria*, as would at least enable her to reduce it lower when she pleased, if she should find occasion for it.—She thought it more prudent to lie by after she had done this, till she might by the Emperor's Death, break the *Austrian* Succession, and avail herself of the Assistance of the *German* Princes to do that then, which she had no Pretence to attempt during his Life ; and which must have inevitably drawn those very *German* Powers against her, till that Event happened ; much more she could not have done, without their Assistance : She had sown, in all Appearance, a lasting Discontent between the Empire and the Maritime Powers ; she had it in her Power to join *Lorrain* to her own (already vast) Dominions, and to add two Kingdoms to another Branch of the House of *Bourbon* : Both these Acquisitions required some Time to be settled in a Way to be usefully employed hereafter.—By declining any farther Advantage for the present, she carried a Shew of Moderation and voluntary Abstinence, which she knew would effectually deceive the Fools, who abound and strengthen her Party, by their Credulity, in every State of *Europe* ;—All this induced her to conclude Peace with the Imperial Court (in which we were in no Degree consulted.) And she made her Confederates submit to it about *October, 1736.*

By

By this Peace, notwithstanding all her former Assurances to the contrary, she made no Scruple to secure *Lorraine* to herself: Which Country, with its Revenues, is able to furnish and maintain an Army of 30,000 Men, and brought her Territories above 150 Miles more forward into *Germany*, than they had before extended on that Side; this enabled her at a much shorter Warning, and with a much superior Force, to attack the Empire, when she should afterwards see occasion to do it: Compleating at the same Time, an entire Influence over four Electors of the Empire, *Palatine, Mentz, Triers, and Cologne*.—The Effects of which, we have visibly seen by the Election of the present Emperor.—The Dominion given to the Infant Don *Carlos*, reduced the Forces of the House of *Austria* by above 50,000 Men, and added an equal Number to the opposite Scale:—All this the Minister of *Britain* brought about by his loudly self-applauded Preventive and Defensive Measures; and this, hampered by the Consequences of his pacifick Conduct, became, at length, out of his Power to prevent.

During the whole Period of this War, *France* was so little apprehensive of our being capable to exert ourselves in Defence either of our Honour or our Interest, that contrary to what, in such a Conjuncture, would have appeared a politick Part in her to act, she took every possible Means to insult, to disgrace, and to triumph over our Weakness.—*Dunkirk* had been gradually and privately restored, in Contravention to the most clear and positive Article of the Peace of *Utrecht*, that it should never be made a Port again, and the Minister had connived at this Violation of that Treaty; though its dangerous Situation in case of a future War with *France*, is sufficiently known and understood.—But now *France* openly employed great Numbers of Men to cleanse the Harbour, and to raise Batteries upon the old Foundations of the former Works; insulted the Ships not only of our Merchants, but of the Royal Navy of *England*, in very many Instances, affecting the same Superiority at Sea, as she had too visibly acquired, by our Conduct at Land; encouraged the *Spaniards* to continue their Depredations; debauched and invited publicly, both *them*, and the *Indian Nations* in *North America*, to attempt our Settlements there; and what is even yet beyond all this, issued an Arrêt, commanding all the *British* Subjects then in *France*, upon Pain of the Gallies, either immediately to depart the Kingdom, or to enlist in her Troops; and, in Consequence, imprisoned great Numbers, both of the *English, Scotch, and Irish*, there.

Spain on her Part, had no sooner dismissed our Fleet, which had convoyed her Troops to *Italy* upon the Expedition before mentioned;

mentioned ; but she began to treat us even worse than she had ever done before : her Depredations were excessive, and her Captures amounted to prodigious Sums ; she publicly laid claim to some of our Provinces in *America*, and interrupted not only our general Commerce, but that of the *South-Sea* Company ; which were both particularly confirmed by Treaty.—Our Trade was greatly interrupted ; and by the Barbarities of the *Spaniards*, and the Insults of *France*, the Spirit of our Seamen, nay their very Race, was visibly running to Decay : Yet the Minister, *fearful of a War*, submitted to all this.

At length, the Nation was exasperated to such a Point, and the Complaints and Clamours of the Merchants echoed so loudly through the whole Kingdom, that both Houses of Parliament in the latter End of the Year 1737 and the Beginning of 1738, could no longer refrain from expressing a great Anxiety, at this tame Conduct, with respect to *Spain* ; declaring their Opinion, that the Insolence of *Spain* ought no longer to be endured, and that if immediate Satisfaction was not given and Security obtained to remedy what was *past*, and to prevent what we saw was to be expected for *the Time to come*, this Nation must seek Redress by Arms.

The Minister, still unable to resolve himself for War, still infatuated, with the Notion of his Brother's Abilities for Negotiation, depended upon his former Arts of Treaty-making.—*Spain* knew him now so well, that she wantonly play'd with him ; she kept him off till the very Time that the Parliament was to meet, without doing any thing at all ; by which she reduced him to a terrible Distress.—He did not dare to meet the Parliament, after their Resolutions and Addresses, and the Temper he had left them in the last Sessions, without having done any Thing.—Yet the Time was come, and nothing at all was done.—His only Expedient was to prorogue the Parliament ; and to make use of this short Space to humble himself before *Spain* ; to shew them the Condition he was in, and beg their Assistance, at any Rate, and upon any Terms, to give him a Lift for the present.—Whatever Form of Words he used, or in what-manner soever this Negotiation, was carried on, this was visibly the Nature of it ; for he could not conceal his Condition ; and what immediately followed, evidently proves, that it was fully understood by the Power with which he treated.

Spain having sufficiently gratified her Mirth, sported with, and mortified the Man, began to think that she might carry the Jest too far ; that a War, for which she was not yet effectually prepared, might be the sudden Consequence ; and that it was not her Interest to ruin a Minister, whose Puffillanimity had served

served her as effectually for many Years, as if her *own* had presided over the *British* Councils: She therefore consented to a Treaty, under the Name of a *Convention*, which was signed at the *Pardo*, not sooner than the 14th of *January* N. S. 1738-9. but then dispatched with the utmost Expedition.

Scarce had the Courier cleaned his Boots, but the Parliament was called—they met the first of *February* 1738-9. and the Minister enlarged upon the great Advantages of this new Treaty, by which he bragged, *That he had obtained more than ever on like Occasions was known to be obtained, more than the most successful Arms could have procured; and that this Negotiation had been the best conducted, and the most happily finished, of any we meet with in History.—That he remembered he had the last Sessions undertaken to be answerable for the Measures of the Government, while he had the Honour to be a Minister, and that he was prepared to make good his Promise.*—He added, that if Gentlemen would persist to raise a Ferment without Doors against this *Convention*, they would thereby render a *War* unavoidable.

But the Publick were not so much terrified with this Argument of an *unavoidable War*. They on the contrary knew, that it was just and absolutely necessary, and had been already delayed too long;—and when this *Convention* was laid before the House, which was done upon the 6th of *March* following, it did not lessen that Opinion.

And to shew how little Reason there was for that Opinion to be altered by it, I shall state in a few Words, what Points the Nation justly expected to be finally adjusted by this Treaty.

The first Point, was the disclaiming all Right to search our Ships in the American Seas, under Pretences of their carrying on a contraband and illicit Trade.—Now as there neither ever was, nor is any Treaty subsisting between the two Nations, which either specifies, intimates or supposes any such things as *contraband Goods*, and as if the Pretence should be allowed of an *illicit Trade*, no Ships (from the Circumstances of that Navigation) could pass or repass to our own Settlements in the *West-Indies*, without being exposed to be rummaged and confiscated by the *Spanish* Vessels, it was absolutely a Condition, (*sine qua non*) without which, we could never end our Differences with that Nation.

2dly, *Spain* had, with intolerable Arrogance, and upon frivolous Pretences, claimed a Right to our Provinces upon the Coasts of *Florida*, which included *Georgia*, and a Part of *South*

^a See this Speech in the Debates of the House of Commons, Vol. X. fol. 335. by *Candler*.

Carolina.—The Honour therefore and Interest of this Nation, absolutely required an *actual Disavowal of this pretended Right.*

3dly, The Depredations committed upon our Merchants, under the frivolous and unjust Pretences of this contraband and illicit Trade, amounted to 340,000 *l.*—This just Claim and Debt was therefore to be allowed or paid, and this was *another just Condition expected by the Nation.*

4thly, The King of Spain, during the former Differences, having seized the Effects of the *British* South-Sea Company, to the Amount of above a Million, and 68,000 *l.* and during the former Negotiations, this Sum having been allowed on his Part a just Debt, and the South-Sea Company having on the other hand acknowledged a Debt on their Part of 68,000 *l.*—there was a Ballance due to the South-Sea Company of above a Million Sterling, the Payment of which was a *fourth Condition expected by this Nation.*

Now if the Nation had not received Satisfaction in these four Particulars, (especially the two first) Justice was not procured, nor any Security obtained.

Let us therefore now see in what manner this Satisfaction and Security were provided for by this Treaty.

As to the *first Condition*, (our Right to free Navigation, and no Search, the grand Point of all our Difference,) nothing farther was provided than had been provided for twenty Years before—It was again referred to be discussed in future by Commissaries, of which we had sufficiently seen the Effects before, and already experienced all that we had to expect from it, which was indubitably nothing.

As to the *second Particular*, to the great Astonishment of the whole Nation, they found, that their Right to Provinces, from which we derived a prodigious Benefit, *Carolina*, (which by the Encrease of the Commodity of Rice, became of late Years one of the most profitable Colonies belonging to the *British* Empire ;) and *Georgia*, (to settle which the Nation had put itself to a great Expence, and which by its Situation in the Gulph of *Florida*, and by a proper Use of its Ports, might command the Return of the whole *Spanish* Treasure, and was of infinite Consequence to prevent the Conjunction of the *French* upon the *Mississipi*, and their *Sugar Islands*) were not only submitted to the like Discussion of Commissaries; but what was more amazing and unworthy, that we had bound ourselves, till the Decision of these Commissaries, not to erect any Forts, or to do any thing to strengthen or secure our Possession there, which was, in other Words, to leave them in the same weak and defenceless State they were then notoriously in, to be over-

run

run upon the first Attempt the *Spaniards* should think fit to make upon them.

As to the third and fourth Particulars, it appeared, that the boasted Satisfaction we had obtained for our injured Merchants, whose just Demand, (including that of the South-Sea Company,) amounted to 1,340,000 *l.* was provided for as follows.

Imprimis, The Million due to the South-Sea Company from the King of Spain was left to the Decision of Commissaries, whether it was due or not, which all Mankind understood to be the same thing in effect, as to have intirely given it up.

2dly, The 68,000 *l.* due from the South-Sea Company, was agreed to be due, and to be paid immediately.

3dly, As to the 340,000 *l.* due to our Merchants, on account of the Depredations committed upon them,—this Account was settled in the following Manner.

	<i>l.</i>
1st, From the said Claim of the Merchants was arbitrarily deducted by the Dash of a Pen, without any Reason at all assigned - - - - -	140,000
2dly, The King of Spain was allowed to deduct for the prompt Payment of what was never intended to be paid - - - - -	45,000
3dly, The British Nation were to allow Spain for the Ships taken and destroyed in the Year 1718, in Time of actual War - - - - -	60,000
4thly, The South-Sea Company were to make immediate Payment of the 68,000 <i>l.</i> due from them to the King of Spain - - - - -	68,000
5thly, Spain was allowed to deduct the Value of a Ship called the <i>Theresa</i> taken in the Port of Dublin in 1735, as also the Amount of whatever she had formerly given in Satisfaction to our Merchants for their Losses; which two Sums amounted to more, but we shall only state at	27,000

340,000

Thus it is manifest that the Plan of this Treaty was laid upon this Ground, that the King of Spain was not to pay one single Shilling; so that, in fact, all the Pretensions, both of our Merchants and the South-Sea Company, were entirely given up by it.—But what was still worse, the Court of Spain refused to agree, even to this Treaty, till the Minister had consented to an *Act*, whereby the King of Spain declared, That he entered his Protest against the Execution of it provisionally, in case

case the *South-Sea* Company did not pay, in a short time therein limited, the said Sum of 68,000 *l.* and reserved farther to himself, a Right of suspending their *Assiento* Contract, in case of Failure on their Part.—Now as it was impossible, that the *South-sea* Company would ever be induced to pay 68,000 *l.* upon one Head of an Account, in which they had, (after the Deduction of that Sum,) a Balance of a *Million* due to them ; and as they did immediately after resolve not to pay this Sum, the Case of the Nation was directly this ; that *Spain* was prevailed upon to do this temporary Job for the Minister.

1st, By a publick Connivance (if it may be so called) at their Pretensions to search our Ships, and to interrupt our Navigation.

2^{dly}, By a publick Agreement, that our *Trade* should set down unsatisfy'd with the Loss of 1,340,000 *l.*

3^{dly}, By a tacit Acknowledgement of the Pretensions of *Spain* to a Part of our *American* Dominions.

4^{thly}, By a positive Agreement to leave those Dominions in a defenceless State, that *Spain* might seize them when they pleased.

And 5^{thly}, By the Suspension of the *Assiento* Contract.

To this Condition had our *preventive and defensive* Measures now reduced us.

With this *Convention* the last Thread of pacific Policy was spun ; the Nation could endure it no longer ; the Minister was at length compelled to draw the Sword.—His Majesty's tender Regard, both to his *own* Honour, and to the Interests and Honour of the Nation, induced him to declare War against *Spain*, in the Summer 1739.

How that War was carried on upon the same timid Principles, is but too evident. The Court of *Spain* had Time to strengthen herself to such a Degree, that she became at length invulnerable in the *West-Indies* ; and the War continues still, without a Possibility of any material Success in our farther Attempts upon that Part of her Dominions.

And now the Distresses brought upon us by this unparalleled Chain of pusillanimous Proceedings, burst like a Torrent on the Minister, who had been the Occasion of them.—Upon the 9th of *October*, O. S. 1740. the Emperor died of a Cholic, attended with a Vomiting and Inflammation of the Bowels, in a Conjunction so apt for the Views of *France*, that there was little Room to doubt, either of the Cause or Consequences of his Death :—His Territories had been guaranteed, long before, under the Title of the *Pragmatic Sanction*, to his eldest Daughter, (the present Queen of *Hungary*,) by a Majority of the *German* Princes, by *Great-Britain*, *Denmark*, *Holland*, *Spain*, and *France* ; and of the two latter held (the one) *Naples* and *Sicily*,

(the other) *Lorrain*, by no other Tenure than that of the Observance of this Treaty. But though *France* made no Scruple to declare, that she would strictly fulfil her Engagements with Regard to the *Pragmatic Sanction*; and that she would keep clear of every Thing, that should restrain the free Choice of a new *Emperor*, and though the King of *Prussia* gave the strongest Assurances, that he would support it to the utmost of his Power; yet it was easy to see, that these Engagements would meet with no Regard, and that these Declarations were designed only to amuse and deceive.

The Elector of *Bavaria* begun by refusing to acknowledge the Rights of the Queen of *Hungary*, and asserting a Claim to her Dominions.—In *December* following, to the Amazement of all *Europe*, the King of *Prussia* fell into the Queen's hereditary Countries, and entered *Silesia* with an Army of 40,000 Men.—In the succeeding Spring, the *French* marched a great Army into *Germany*, and joined the *Bavarians*; they also sent another great Body of Forces into *Westphalia* upon the Confines of the Electorate of *Hanover*.—The Elector of *Saxony* likewise marched an Army into *Bohemia*.—*Sweden*, by the Intrigues of *France*, declared War against the *Russians*: By which, and by the treasonable Practices, which she fomented there, that Empire became incapable to assist the House of *Austria*. The King of *Naples*, with a great Body of his own Forces, in Conjunction with a formidable Army of *Spaniards*, both Horse and Foot, which again were permitted by the Minister to embark, and land unmolested by our Squadrons, was prepared to attack her *Italian* Dominions:—And by the Influence of *France*, the Elector of *Bavaria* was chosen Emperor.—*Upper Austria* was already, before the End of that Year, overrun; *Bohemia* and the greater Part of *Silesia* lost; another *Spanish* Army marching towards *Savoy*, the King of *Sardinia* (from his dangerous Situation, and other Circumstances) much suspected; the Electorate of *Hanover* unavoidably compelled by superiour Force to a Neutrality; the *Dutch* intimidated by the same Force; *Denmark*, encouraged by *France*, and wholly occupied to make its Advantage of the Troubles in the North; and *Great-Britain* exasperated to the utmost Verge of Patience, upon the very Brink of domestic Confusion, still directed by the same Minister.—From this Situation of Affairs, and from the Temper of the People, naturally resulting from it, wholly incapacitated from affording any material Assistance to the Queen of *Hungary*, but persevering to demonstrate, even in this last Crisis, by his Conduct of the *Spanish* War, and by his Permission of the *Spanish* Embarkations, that his Inclinations were as foreign as his

his Abilities to a vigorous Exertion of the Power of this Nation, at a Time, when Councils, *even desperately violent*, seemed the only Possibility, under Heaven, to preserve *us* and *Europe* from Destruction.—Even yet, incorrigibly bent upon inconsistent Schemes of Negotiation, he turned his Thoughts to a Project of more Temerity and Indiscretion than ever he had hitherto projected, and attempted to form an Alliance to dismember *Prussia*.—Thus overwhelmed on every Side; Great Armies of *French, Bavarians, Prussians* and *Saxons* within a fews Days March of *Vienna*; and no Part of her Territories unmolested, but the remote Dominions of *Hungary*; and those States, that bordered on the *Turk*, in daily Expectation of being attacked likewise from that Quarter, the unhappy Queen of *Hungary* was thrown, for her only Resource, upon a People, who, till this Time, had never afforded any Assistance to their Sovereign; but had, on the contrary, taken all Occasions to rebel and join a foreign Power.—Her veteran Troops all destroy'd in the late War against the *Turk*; the Fountains of Supply from her richest Countries, then in the Possession of her Enemies, wholly turned against her.—This was the Condition to which the only Power, that could maintain the Balance, and without which no rational Man can think, that this Nation can long subsist without becoming a Province to *France*, was brought by this determined Suite of the *preventive and defensive* Measures of the *British* Minister.

Such was the State of our Affairs, when the present Parliament begun its first Sessions upon the first of *December*, 1741. I might expatiate here, to aggravate the wretched Condition to which this Country was reduced; but I am far from meaning to represent this Conduct, in the worst Light that it might bear: My View is very different.—Exasperated as the People are already, he that attempts to encrease the Flame, deserves to perish in it.—Would to God it were forgiven, upon Condition that it could be forgot; but it cannot be forgot, nor will, for this Reason, ever be forgiven: My Meaning therefore neither is to attempt the one nor the other.—But my Endeavour is to divert the Publick from that mad Resentment, which must complete their Ruin.—I shall shortly come to shew, how far already this Resentment has mislead them.—How, deviating from the only Principle, that can warrant Punishment, they wound their Country and themselves in the Extravagance of Passion.—The Pursuit of Punishment, when no good End can possibly be answered by it, is Revenge; Revenge with Nations, as well as with private Men, is in itself detestable; and, in its Consequences, fatal. Let *Sweden* be the Mirror to reflect the Face of this Nation:

Nation : We have lately seen that brave, that free People, *pushing violently their own Destruction with a strange Similitude of Fate.*—First, by ruinous Measures brought into deplorable Circumstances ; then pursuing sanguinary Vengeance on their Ministers ; Ministers, from the Passion of the Time, neither safe to be given up, nor to be saved ; tearing every Fence of Government and Constitution down, to reach the Object of their Hatred ; artfully led on, under this Pretence, to abuse their Liberty with a dangerous Licence ; thinking themselves entitled, because they meet with Obstruction in this View, to invade the Privileges of all the other Parts of their Legislature ; yet all this Time, stupidly forgetful of the very Cause, for which alone they ought in Justice to condemn the Conduct of those Ministers, and to be thus enraged, embarrassing their Government, labouring to plunge it still deeper, by persevering in the same Foreign Measures, into the same Evil, and to prevent their wisest and most honest Men from availing themselves of the most fortunate Opportunities to preserve the Nation, and to retrieve past Errors ; till at length, from the Excess of popular Power, the Weakness of their Government, the Want of Virtue in Particulars to resist the Temptation of a false Popularity, and the Want of Courage to withstand a factious Calumny, they were encouraged to attempt direct Rebellion, in Favour of a Pretender, whose Advancement to the Throne was morally certain to fix the Chains of Arbitrary Power for ever on their Country.

After this, some may possibly demand, Why then have you recalled to publick View, these former Errors of the Minister ? I have done it with solid Reason.—The Sore, that rankles, must be opened and deeply probed : The Man, who would, in this Disorder of the Publick, serve his Country, cannot hope to do it by concealing Faults.—To deny notorious Truths, is an Attempt to impose upon Mankind, too gross to be borne ; the Nation is honest, though it is deceived, and will listen to no Arguments, that are obviously dishonest and uncandid.—Not to acknowledge this, would be to accuse the People of unjust Resentment during a Space of 20 Years :—And, as in the present Conjunction, I think it my Duty to accuse them of unjust Resentments, and to convince them that they are justly accused ; by a contrary Conduct, I could not fail to provoke, instead of healing Animosities ; to lay a Foundation of Prejudice, which no Solidity of Reason could be able to remove ; and infallibly defeat the honest Intention, which alone has led me to give the Publick and myself the Trouble of this Discourse.

It was likewise necessary to do this for several very important Ends, to give the Clue to the true Source of our Misfortunes, and to the Origin of the late Opposition ; which can be the only Means, either to moderate the Rage of the Publick, to
remove

remove their Prejudices, to distinguish their Friends, to direct them to the Knowledge of their Enemies, to preserve their just Attachment to their Prince, and to maintain the Constitution of their Country.

For when the People mistake the Cause, their Conclusions must be false and dangerous—their Opinion of those, who see more clearly, and act the best for their Interests, easily abused—they are liable from false Causes assigned by wicked and artful Men, to think desperately of Government, and to seek for Remedies not adapted to the Disease, and of so violent a Nature, as to tear the Body Politick to Pieces.

And that this has been the Case, will become very manifest upon a due Consideration of this Deduction of our Affairs during the late Administration—the People not considering well the Spring of this unhappy Train of Conduct, have been falsely and infamously taught, that it took its Rise from the Treachery of the Minister, and from a low and private Prejudice in the Prince to his Foreign Dominions, abetted by a Band of corrupt Mercenaries, and supported by the Defects of a Constitution, which gave too much Power to the Crown—None of which is true.

It was the Embarrassment of our Affairs by the Peace of *Utrecht*, a timid, obstinate, and perhaps selfish Character in the Minister.—It was the unavoidable Consequences of the Treaty of *Hanover*, which was made before his Majesty's Accession to the Throne, for which he was therefore not answerable, and which it was very difficult to remedy.—It was a Chain of Circumstances, neither derived from a greater Degree of Corruption than will be founded in any opulent State upon Earth, nor from any Defects, but what (or worse) must exist in the purest Constitution under Heaven: All which will more fully appear by the following Deduction.

But to return—In this Crisis of Affairs, Ruin abroad appeared almost impossible, highly improbable to prevent,—the Nation at home in such a Ferment, that nothing but Confusion was by every rational Man expected.—To prevent either, it was obvious that the Minister must be removed, the Publick neither would, nor could have engaged in those expensive Undertakings which were our only Resource, under the Conduct of such a Man.—But how to effect this Change was the great Labour.—There is Reason to believe, that his Majesty was as much convinced of the Necessity of a Change, as the Minister was convinced that it was high time to prepare for it.—It was even certain, that the best Men in the Opposition began to fear greatly the Effects of the Spirit they had raised, however necessary,

fary, however just it had been to raise it; but the greatest Danger of all was to have desisted in that Conjunction. Thus even they who were most sensible of the dangerous Ferment, were by Necessity compelled to raise it still higher to prevent its fatal Effect.—Opposition was redoubled with a Degree of Fury, which nothing but this Circumstance could warrant.—The Dilemma was great on all Sides—the more the Minister was pressed, the more difficult and dangerous it was both for him and for the Publick to give way—and had he been disinterested enough to have resigned his Power, to speak honestly, there was Hazard both to his own Person, to the Interest of his Master, and the Constitution of his Country.—It was dangerous to depend upon the Moderation of a Party so combined as it now appeared to be, and heated with so unavoidable a Fury. On the other hand, it was impossible for the honest Men, embarked against him, to have desisted either.—Matters had been driven too far to rely upon the Prudence of their Antagonist, and they had too many Examples to venture to trust that ever this Danger could reclaim his indomptable Spirit of Peace. It was very unsafe, both for the Publick and themselves to have risked the double Danger of their Enemies, and the Resentment of their Friends.—If by such an indiscreet Retreat, *they had much weakened their Party*, they could not have had sufficient Assurance, that the Minister would have made that just and wise Use of it, which could have been their only Inducement for so disinterested a Measure.—He might have employed this Accession of Strength, to have confirmed himself in his imprudent Politicks, to have ruined Liberty, under the Pretence of destroying Faction, and have taken this Opportunity to have wreaked his private Revenge.—Again, if this Conduct should have had a different Effect, *and not much weakened the Party they left*, it must have served only to precipitate the Views of bad Men, and left the Nation distracted and mad under the Lead and Direction of the worst and most dangerous Persons in the Kingdom.—Upon the whole, it was neither in the Power of the one to *retire*, nor the other to *desist*.

Most certain it is, whatever the ignorant Vulgar may think, or wicked Men pretend, that the domestick Peace was at this Conjunction in the utmost Hazard, and that at this Hour we had been involved in horrible Confusion, if his Majesty's Prudence had not dictated, and assisted us in the middle Way of Moderation, in which all Safety consists, by yielding to a Change of the Minister, and yet resolving to defend the Person of the Man removed, from the Rage and Fury of the Time. By this Measure, that intire Victory of Party, which must have produced

produced insufferable Insolence, and raised unforeseen, extravagant and irresistible Expectations, was awarded with its Consequences, which, like a Torrent, would have broke in upon us, and in a merciless manner swept away both good and bad who had given Opposition to it, and probably carried before it, in its Tide of Reformation, all the Guards and Securities of this happy Constitution.—Had the Government been taken by Storm, had the People been once blooded, who can say where he would have stopt, or who could have Authority to have cast down the Bar before them.—In such Conjunctions, Reason and Experience shew us, that the private Soldier drives his Officer before him—all Order and Discipline are at an End—and whoever endeavours to restrain the Violence, is looked upon as an Enemy, divested of his Command, and new Leaders chosen out of those, who with most Fury, and least Remorse, will carry Devastation furthest. By this Measure therefore, Time was given for many to reflect, who in the Heat of such an Event, would have been hurried Lengths they never intended to have gone, and plunged into Precipices, which many, who have escaped already, consider with Horror, that they lately stood so near, and which many more, as they consider and cool, will every Day look back upon with equal Terror.—This Measure likewise afforded Opportunity to make the proper Alterations by Degrees, and with a deliberate Choice, to put the publick Affairs into the Hands of Men, who were distinguished, rather by their Abilities and Integrity, than by their Heat and Passion, or popular Accomplishments.—It gave room to weaken Faction, by the Gratification of some warm Men, but to do it so, as not to encourage its hasty Growth again—It prepared a way for a lasting Change of Measures, and secured an Interest to support them at the same Time; as it enabled those who had acted under the former Administration upon wrong Principles of Policy without Fear of Ruin, or Shame of Tergiversation, tacitly to reclaim their Conduct, and prevented that fatal Evil, (which was otherwise inevitable, and must have brought our Affairs into a worse Condition than ever,) the raising a new Opposition out of the defeated Party, whose Number, though defeated, were at this very Conjunction equal to those by whom they had been compelled to yield.—Thus this prudent Firmness on the one hand, and prudent Condescension on the other, manifestly saved this Nation from Perdition—the best, the most able, the most considerable Men, and those of the true Whig Principle, were separated from a wicked Party, with whom Necessity had obliged them formerly to unite, and who were upon the Point of getting the Direction of the Publick into their Hands,

under the Pretence of delivering it from another Danger, which, great as it was, could not be worse than that.—And thus the Government now stands upon the Foundation of a true Whig Interest, upon which alone it can safely stand, supported by Men, united by the manifest Revival of that Principle, which would bring them both to Ruin.

We are now come to that Period of Time, when the late Opposition ceased, and a Separation was made between the *Whigs* and the *Tories*; they had travelled on in the same Road to this Point of a Change of the Minister; and the Power to change the Measures was in their own Hand.—This, as I have very sufficiently shewn, was the first and sole Intention of the *Whigs*, so that their Journey was at an End; but the others were to travel further, and we shall shortly see through what miry Paths they went.—It was almost a Miracle they had kept Company so long.—The *Tories* had plainly shewn, upon the late Motion, how little they were to be depended upon, even in the Prosecution of their common View; and for the *Whigs*, they had never pretended, never given any Encouragement to think, that they should continue Opposition longer than till they had carried these Points.—Nay, till this Event, the *Tories* themselves affected to intend no more.—All Men of Sense, who knew them well, knew, that this was only Colour, to take away Suspicion of their dangerous Designs.—What happened was therefore no Surprise to them, and so far from being condemned for it, their Principles and Views being thus widely different, they must both have been truly inconsistent with themselves, if they had not both done as they did.

A Change of the Administration being now become absolutely necessary, the Equality of Parties being such, that no Business could be carried on, this Change was resolved.—In order to effect it, it was necessary to adjourn the House.—It required some Time to deliberate upon the first Changes, and for those Members of the Opposition, who were to be first taken in, to be rechosen.

To this Adjournment (which was for 15 Days) all the House agreed, the *Whigs* knowing the Necessity of it, and that a Change could not be safely made without it, and with these concurring all those who had private Views, and expected to reap a personal Benefit from this Change.—The Leaders of the *Tories*, who have since treated this Measure as iniquitous in the highest Degree, made no Objection to it then; they had one or other of the two Reasons before-mentioned to induce them to it. The Reader may assign that which he thinks most probable, upon a Consideration of their subsequent Behaviour.

In this Conjunction, these Gentlemen thought it highly necessary to make their Appearance at the Court, to which some had never gone since the Accession of the present Royal Family upon the Throne; and many had absented themselves so long, that they feared they might be forgotten, which was by no Means convenient, when so many great Employments were to be conferred in a few Days.—It was necessary to convince the Prince, that their only Reason for abstaining from this Demonstration of Respect before, was the ill Opinion of the late Minister, and that they were now ready to support his Majesty's Measures, as warmly as the best Friends he had; but alas! the Sincerity of their Reconciliation, and the secret Condition of it, unhappily for them, were both as well understood at that Time, in the Place to which they went, as they have since been clearly manifested in the Nation.

Thus far all Things proceeded well and quietly—not a Word was uttered of any farther Reformation. The People were then suffered to think as they were naturally disposed to do. *A Change of the Minister, and the Introduction of honest Men into the chief Employments; was thought the utmost Object of the Peoples Wish, and what must in the end ensure whatever else was wanting.*

Tranquility continued till an Honourable Gentleman, who had been considerable in the Opposition, was made Chancellor of the Exchequer.—This began to clash with the Expectations of others; but still, as there were many great Employments left, they were not yet transported far enough to declare a new Breach—so that they suffered this Gentleman to be re-elected without any Opposition.—The next Thing done was the Appointment of the new *Treasury*, which when they found composed of that Set of Men called *Whigs*, and but one *Tory* admitted upon that Bench, they began to murmur openly.—But it was still too soon to take their final Resolution—the Boards of *Admiralty* and *Trade* were not yet actually settled, and they waited the Event of the Disposition there.—But when that of the Admiralty was taken into Consideration, for which some of the leading *Tories* were designed (and which are all willing to accept) His Majesty having refused to admit one particular Person, and they thinking that the Reason assigned for that Exception, might be a dangerous Precedent, which must equally affect great Numbers of their Body, it was resolved to exert themselves upon this Occasion.—They accordingly insisted strongly for this Person, and for some others, and in fine, for such a Disposition there, as was impossible to be complied with—which as soon as they found, and that the other Offices were not yet proposed to be changed, they resolved to keep no further Measures. Nothing was to be left
to

to the Disposal of the Sovereign, as soon as it appeared that he would not wholly resign himself into the Hands of *Tories*, and that he presumed to make Difficulties in admitting, even any one of those, who had been ever marked, by their Friends as well as Enemies, as the Leaders of a *Party*, which deserve a stronger Denomination.

Some few Men of a different Principle, who deserve a better Fate, by the Heat of Passion, the Effects of Ambition, and the common Fear of not being provided for to their Wishes upon this Occasion, unhappily fell at this Time into the Views of these People; upon whose Shoulders they vainly imagined they might lift themselves to what they now began to fear they should never reach; among these, a Man, whose Merits, Abilities and Weight entitled him to the highest Esteem of all Parties, whose Error (of which he has been since too late convinced) is repaired to his own Conscience, by his retiring from them; but can never be repaired to his Country, by his having retired from its Service in Consequence of it.—This Appearance of a few *Whigs* on their Side had a very ill Effect: Under this Colour, they passed for what they have since shewn they were not:—Many young and undistinguishing Men, and many of the People, having no Apprehensions to engage with an Opposition, which they ignorantly think directed by *Whig* Principles, because they see a few *Whigs* among them: And the Difficulty of breaking from such Engagements of Party, being so great, that few have Honesty or Spirit to do it now, when they are convinced of their Mistake.—But as we have already observed in the Beginning of this Paper, *All Oppositions are composed of Individuals of all Denominations: And an Opposition is not less a Whig Opposition, because it is joined by Jacobites and Tories; nor a Jacobite or Tory Opposition less a Faction, because it is joined by Whigs: But the Difference lies in the Spirit, that predominates, and in the Men that direct.—For, if the Whigs have the Ascendant and can force the rest into their Measures, Methods safe and honest are pursued.—But, if the Jacobites or Tories have the Lead, or Whigs only bear the Name of Leaders, and are in Reality driven, by the Spirit of those with whom they are connected, the Measures of Opposition are then equally carried on upon the Jacobite or Tory Views, as we shall prove it to be the Case at this Time; and such an Opposition is, to all Intents and Purposes, a Jacobite or Tory Faction.*

Thus hurried by Impatience, heated by Despair, the *Faction*, with these unnatural Allies, after a vain and tedious Expectation of eight Days (for so much of the fifteen Days of the Adjournment had already passed, and they were not yet provided

vided for) upon the 11th of *February*, 1741-2, a Day, which perhaps this Nation, may have Reason never to forget, they came to a final Breach.—From this exact Period may be dated the Death of the late memorable Opposition, and the Birth of a fatal Faction, who have already laid the Foundation of Calamities, which will require much Wisdom and Virtue to avert ; and which only that Providence, that has already so often remarkably interposed to save this Nation, can entirely preserve it from.

It was given out in dark Whispers, that the *Whig* Leaders of the Opposition, who, by their Abilities and Services had obtained the foremost Rank, in whose Hands the Settlement of this great Affair therefore naturally lay, and with whom, from the Knowledge of their Principles, the Government could only treat, had betray'd their Party ; that the Circumstances of this Treason were such as to require a Conjunction of all honest Men to resist and to defeat it ; that the Proof was undeniable, and that it was necessary the Matter should be laid open before the whole Opposition : The Members of the Opposition were all summoned, and the Expectation of Mankind raised to the highest Pitch : As well they, who understood the Nature of this Meeting, as they, who understood it not, out of equal Curiosity concurred to attend it : And among the rest, the Gentlemen, who conducted the new Settlement, and those, who had been already taken into Employment, were desired to be present to defend themselves against this formidable Accusation.

The Charge was introduced with great Solemnity ; “ Gentlemen were reminded of the dangerous Situation to which
“ the Nation had been brought by the late Administration ;
“ how gloriously and steadily they had persevered in the Opposition ; how happily at length their honest Endeavours,
“ and the just Spirit of the People, had brought them in Sight of
“ the long wish'd-for Port ; that as every Set of Men had contributed to bring this important Point to bear, it was
“ just all Denominations of Men should receive an equal Reward of their Virtue ; that if a proper Use were made of
“ this happy Conjunction, this Reward might be obtained ;
“ that the total Rout of the Ministerial Party was what they
“ had a Right to expect ; and that this would make Room for
“ all.—But that there was too much Reason to fear, that
“ this Use would not be made of the happy Opportunity ;
“ that a few Men had presumed, without communicating their
“ Proceedings to that Assembly, to take this Work upon themselves ; that by their Manner of doing it, they had sufficient
“ Cause to apprehend they did not mean the general Advantage ;

“ vantage ; that they had been now eight Days in this Em-
 “ ployment ; and by the few Offices they had as yet bestowed,
 “ they were justly to be accused of not acting with the Vigour
 “ that was expected of them by the whole People.—That a-
 “ mong other things, what administered Matter of great Jeal-
 “ ousy was the Choice of those already preferred ; that this
 “ Choice having fallen principally upon *Whigs*, it was an ill O-
 “ men for the *Tories* ; and that if they were not to be pro-
 “ vided for, the happy Effects of the Coalition of Parties must
 “ be destroyed, and Parties again revived to the great Prejudice
 “ of the Nation ; that it was therefore highly necessary to
 “ unite closely, to keep firmly together, and to continue to
 “ oppose, with the same Vehemence as ever, till Justice was
 “ done the *Tories*, and till the Administration was founded
 “ upon the *broad Bottom* of both Parties.”

A Right Honourable Gentleman, since advanced into another House of Parliament, with whom the Management of this Change was chiefly entrusted, together with some of those, who were lately taken into Employment, answered these Objections to their Conduct with great Temper.—“ They first
 “ observed, how hard a Treatment they had met with in return
 “ for the long Services they had done their Country, and the
 “ Share they had confessedly had in bringing the Opposition to
 “ the Point at which it was arrived, now upon frivolous Pre-
 “ tences, and a Jealousy in the Nature of Things, not yet
 “ possibly grounded upon any solid foundation, to be brought
 “ before such a Tribunal, accused publickly in the Face of the
 “ whole World, of that, which no single Man dare in pri-
 “ vate, to their Faces, charge them with ; loaded with Suspi-
 “ cions, which once raised are hardly ever to be wiped off by any
 “ Conduct ; and branded with the Imputation of an ima-
 “ ginary Crime, so easily to be believed in the then Temper
 “ of the Nation ;—that they deserved a very different Usage,
 “ by the Integrity, with which they had hitherto proceeded,
 “ and with which they were determined to proceed :—That
 “ as to the taking the Management of this Affair into their
 “ own Hands, the Overtures having been made to them,
 “ it was their Duty, and it would have been the Duty
 “ of any Man, to whom they had been made, to have used
 “ his best Abilities to have brought about a happy Settlement,
 “ after the Divisions, by which this Country had been so long
 “ torn ; and which could not longer subsist without the utter
 “ Ruin of the Interests of this Nation abroad, and the Dan-
 “ ger of fatal Disturbances at Home :—That the superficial Vul-
 “ gar might imagine it a more proper and equitable way to
 “ refer

“ refer this Settlement to the Decision of the whole Party ;
 “ but that no Man of tolerable Understanding and Experience
 “ could cherish an Idea so impracticable and absurd ; that Go-
 “ vernment was not yet reduced to such a Point, as to sur-
 “ render at Discretion, especially to an Enemy, who had de-
 “ clared so publickly they would give no Quarter ; that Go-
 “ vernment neither could, would, nor ought to be taken by
 “ Storm ; and that it behoved Gentlemen to consider what
 “ must inevitably be the Consequence of such an Attempt ;
 “ that the great Points were to change the Minister, and to
 “ change the Measures : That the one was visibly already done,
 “ and they would engage to perform the other. That, as to the
 “ Distribution of Employments, there was neither Justice, De-
 “ cency, Duty, or Moderation, in dictating to the King, how
 “ to dispose of every Preferment in the State ; that his Ma-
 “ jesty had shewed a Disposition to comply with the Desires
 “ of his People in the most effectual Manner ; for he had al-
 “ ready supplied the principal Ministerial Posts with Men, who
 “ had hitherto been most confided in by the People, and such
 “ as could not have given Occasion to the People to have
 “ changed their Opinion of them ; because, though nominated,
 “ they had none of them yet done any single Act of Office :
 “ That as to the Changes already made, they were as nume-
 “ rous as the Importance of the Matter, and the Nature of
 “ the Thing could possibly admit so soon, and that it might
 “ have been more to the Credit of their Party, if their
 “ Patience had extended a little longer than the few Days, that
 “ had passed since the Time of their Adjournment.—As to
 “ the partial Distribution of Employments to the *Whigs*, that
 “ as far as their Interest should hereafter extend, they would
 “ use it faithfully to his Majesty, and their Country, by
 “ recommending such to serve him, whose Principles they
 “ knew had been misrepresented, and who were true to
 “ his Family, let their Appellations be what they would :
 “ But that it might be well supposed a Work of some
 “ Time, to remove suspicions inculcated long, and long
 “ credited, with Regard to a Denomination of Men, who
 “ had formerly been thought not heartily attached to the In-
 “ terest of the Prince upon the Throne ; that some Instances,
 “ of this Intention, had been already given in the late Re-
 “ movals, and there would be many more, but that it must
 “ depend upon the prudent Conduct of the *Tories* themselves,
 “ wholly to abolish these unhappy Distinctions of Party. In
 “ fine, they begged of them to consider how false a Step they had
 “ already made,—and that this passionate and groundless Di-
 “ vision,

“ vision, would infallibly give new Courage to the Party they
 “ had just subdued ; that it discovered a Weakness, of which
 “ Advantage would be certainly taken ; that it must inevitably
 “ lessen the Power of those who were employed, and if persisted
 “ in, would in a great Measure prevent the Success of their
 “ Views, both for the Publick, and their Friends.”

It is not to be supposed, that any of these Reasons had much weight on the different sides of the Question.—The Abuse and Indecency, with which the Gentlemen newly taken into the Administration were treated, upon this Occasion, plainly convinced them, and every intelligent Man, that the Design of this Meeting was to throw them off, that the *Tories* might now disengage themselves from the Direction of the *Whigs*, under whose Conduct they had been restrained, and with whom they could never expect to carry the Point they had in View.—They could never have taken a better Opportunity, than that of the National Ferment of the Time, nor have done it with less Suspicion, or encreased their Numbers more, than by doing it, when the Suspicions of Men were, as they always are in such Conjunctions, diverted another Way, and when the Fears, Disappointments and Disgusts of many of different Principles, naturally led them all to join with any Set of Men that still continued to oppose.—We have already observed how far these Passions had misled some *Whigs*, that, insensible of the foolish Part they play'd, they lent their Names to colour the Designs of the *Tories*, and became the Tools to press publicly for their Admission into Employments, which they could not, with any Decency, nor without disgracing themselves with the People, have so glaringly insisted upon themselves.

The Publick quickly found the Effect of this wicked Conduct, for it deserves no better Name.—It was no small Astonishment to many, who had hitherto concurred in the Opposition, and gave no small Disgust to observe it.—No Man of Sense and Honesty thought he could justify adhering longer to a Set of Men, whose Party View was now so openly avowed, and who, like a Band of *Hussars*, had abandoned themselves to the Plunder, even before the Battle was half done ; they knew the Consequence must be, at least, that this mercenary Conduct would suffer the Minister to escape uncensured.—All therefore they could hope farther to do, was to prevent his Return into his former Station, and to procure a Change in his System of Politicks, to get the best Laws they could, to prevent the like Abuse of Power, and at least to secure it in the Hands of those, who they thought least likely to abuse it in their own Time.—It is true, they never intended

intended to have given the *Tories* the Lead in the Government, or to have made a *Tory* Administration; from the Nature of that Party which I have sufficiently explained already, they had been false both to their King and Country, if they had done it.—But they honestly did intend to have promoted the most moderate of that Party, desirous of uniting, by this Experiment, as many as they could, in Affection to his Majesty and his Royal Family; to which the Gratification of private Expectations is with some a very necessary Step.—But their Conduct was such, as disabled them from carrying their Views much farther for them, and had they pressed it after this, their own Principles must have come into Suspicion.—They had therefore just Grounds to have made a total Separation from them; but from a Regard to their Country, they stifled their Resentments; they advanced several *Tories* shortly after, and some into very great Posts since that Time.—They united to promote an Enquiry into the Conduct of the late Minister, which they pushed as far as the Strength of the opposite Party, who were now rallied upon these Divisions, could possibly admit, and far enough to shew such Errors in his Administration, as rendered it impossible for him to be employ'd again.—They engaged the Government to pursue Measures entirely opposite to the pacific Plan so long fatally pursued; they maintained their Principle of supporting the House of *Austria*, and furnished her with effectual Supplies; and they carried a Place Bill to lessen the Ministerial Influence in Parliament.—In Foreign Affairs they did every Thing that could be wished, and much more than could have been expected; in Domestic, they went, if not quite as far, as perhaps they might have safely gone, yet as far as they could go safely in such a Ferment; or indeed, as they were able to go, when thus deserted and weakened by the Madness of these Men.

We have now shewn the Commencement of the present Opposition, which from its Origin may be easily judged what it is.—Its Origin plainly was, not from any wrong Measures, in the Leaders of the late Opposition, for (as they justly observed themselves) they had as yet done nothing when they were thus deserted; no more than *eight Days* had passed since the Retreat of the Minister; and the *Parliament* had not yet met; so that it was impossible the *Faction* could have done it from any Observation of their wrong Behaviour *there*.—Had the *Tories* been as wholly proscribed, as it was falsely suggested they were intended to be, was the late Opposition began upon the Principle of bringing them into Employment, or was it the *Right*, or the *Concern* of the People to insist who should have

have the most beneficial Places?—The Principle of the late Opposition was, as it has been fully shewn, to bring back this Nation to its true Politicks with Regard to the House of *Austria*, and the Balance of Power.—Was the Pursuit of Places ever avowed to be the Grounds of Opposition? it has been indeed satirically imputed to be so upon all Occasions, but it was never supported by the Publick upon that footing, nor ever avowedly confessed to be so, by any Opposition, before this which now distracts this Country; and which I therefore justly and truly call by no other than its proper Name, and shall farther prove by its subsequent Proceedings, to be a *Faction*, if ever a *Faction* did or can exist in *Britain*.—And as the Tree is best known by its Fruits, we shall be particular in tracing its Conduct ever since.

As it was too soon to stile themselves a *new Opposition*, because the Parliament had not yet met, and they knew not what Measures would be pursued; they therefore formed themselves, for the present, under the Title of the *Broad-Bottom*; a Cant Word, which corresponding equally with the Personal Figure of some of their Leaders, and the Nature of their Pretensions, was understood to imply, a Party united to force the Tories into the Administration.

Thus intitled, they laid their general Plan of Action, reducible to the following Heads, which were the known Establishment of their Predecessors in the same Faction.

1st, To vilify and abuse, without Measure, Mercy, or Reserve, all, who in any one single Vote should differ from them.

2^{dly}, To advance or insinuate any Falshood, or misrepresent any Measure, however grossly, to the better sort of Men, if they could propose to delude or inflame the People by it.

3^{dly}, To spirit up the People against the Re-election of any Member into Parliament, who should accept of any Employment.

4^{thly}, To wean the People from their Affection to the House of *Austria*, to diminish their Apprehension, or to encrease their Fears of the *French* Power, either, just as Events should make it most convenient to do. To undermine the great and salutary Principle of supporting a Balance of Power upon the Continent, by Pretences of the Inability of the Nation, of the Folly of engaging in Wars, in which we proposed to make no Acquisition for ourselves, and of the Security of this Nation in its maritime Force alone, let what would happen upon the Continent.

5^{thly},

5thly, To bait the People by the Prospect of an Encrease of Popular Power, by proposing Alterations in the Constitution, the Effects of which, and consequently the necessary Measure of which, the common sort are by no means able to understand.

6thly, To poison the Affections of the People to the Prince upon the Throne, by endeavouring to convince them, that every publick Measure was influenced by his Ambition, Resentments, Passions, or Attachment to some Foreign Territory.

Mr. Addison observes in one of those excellent Papers called the *Freeholder*, which he wrote expressly against the same Faction, then in its Zenith, soon after the End of the late Queen's Reign; that even at that Time personal Abuse had been remarked to be the prevailing Characteristick of that Party, — and he gives the Reason for it, which still holds good at this Day, *That having nothing of Weight to offer against their Antagonists, if they speak at all, it must be against their Persons; when they cannot refute an Adversary, the shortest Way is to libel him, and to endeavour to make his Person odious, when they cannot represent his Notions absurd.* — It was the Fort of their Party, and practised at all Times; it was by the infamous Observation of that Maxim, *Calumniari fortiter ut aliquod adhareat*, and by their scandalous Personalities against the great Duke of Marlborough, the present Dutches, the Treasurer Godolphin, and all the Whigs who supported their glorious Measures, that they routed them at last. — They met with too much Encouragement then not to tread in the same Steps, — the *Examiner* had then the Impudence to accuse that Ministry of carrying on that War upon different Principles from those upon which it was begun, which could not have been, unless that War had been begun upon the Principle of preserving instead of destroying France. — And the present Faction, with equal Assurance, scandalously inconsistent, as they are themselves, accuse the new Part of the Administration of *Inconsistency*, at the Time they are carrying on Measures for reducing France with the utmost Vigour; when it is notorious, to have been the grand Principle and View upon which they engaged in Opposition. Yet glaringly absurd and shameless, as this Charge evidently appears to be, upon the least Reflection, they have actually and incredibly, by their Emissaries properly planted, and properly instructed, brought Numbers of the Vulgar to join in the Chorus of this Song. — No Man could venture to vote on a different Side in the most indifferent Proposition, but he was treated with immeasurable Abuse: — By this Excess of Calumny and Malice, they had more than one Advantage in View. — It served to terrify weak Minds to

return and be more steady.—And though some Men of true Spirit might be the more determined to desert them, they found the Loss of these outbalanced by the Number of those, who were awed and intimidated by it.

In this manner the whole World must be sensible how far they have proceeded, sparing neither Age nor Sex, Rank nor Character, — which Abuse has been swallowed with as much Disgrace to those who have received it, as to those who have delivered it. But Envy and Malice are two great Ingredients in the Tempers of Men, and the Commonalty look upon the Indulgence of this crooked Disposition to be a Mark of an independant Spirit; according to that old Observation of the great Historian Tacitus, *Obtrectatio livor pronis auribus accipiuntur, quippe adulati-
onis fœdum crimen servitutis, Malignitati falsa species libertatis inest.*

The second Part of the Plan they pursued with equal Industry, the same Author, in another of his Papers, observes, how steadily this Set of Men have constantly distinguished themselves by their little regard to Truth, their little Solicitude for what the thinking Part of Mankind would consider of their Conduct, or how long the Lye of the Day would last.—He enumerates a Multitude of their delusive Inventions, in the Reign of King William, in his own Time, adding a just and melancholy Observation, *that their self-interested and designing Leaders cannot desire a more ductile and easy People to work upon.*—Trusting to this Ductility, and the undistinguishing Nature of the common Race of Men, they made no Scruple to charge those, who support the present Measures, with a Change of Principles.—Confounding thus the Opposition with the thing intended by it, and making Opposition itself a Principle, which no honest Man will ever make it. The People are told, *that it was the Principle of the new Administration to oppose the Government, that they do not oppose the Government now, therefore the new Administration have deserted their former Principle.* This passes for sound Logic, upon the simple Herd they lead. It is vain to shew the bare-faced Falacy, that it was their Principle to oppose the Measures, only when they thought them bad, and that it was the Measures and not the Government they opposed; that the Measures are not changed, and they think them no longer bad, that therefore they are no Deserters of their Principle, if they now desist from Opposition.—Confiding farther in the Ignorance of their Creatures, they make no scruple to throw into their general Charge against those who support the present Measures, many of those past Occurrences and Errors, which happened before their Time, which they formerly condemned, and which

are now, (if not equally exploded) at least equally counter-acted both by the new and old Part of the Administration, and the Consequences of which they are now every Hour labouring to remedy and avert.—Thus wilfully misrepresenting every Measure, jumbling and confounding Facts and Dates, Names and Things, so crude and so irrational, that none but the lowest of the Vulgar could be able to digest them.

They proceeded with the same Diligence in the Execution of the third Article of this Plan,—for no sooner was any Gentleman, who had been engaged in the late Opposition, admitted into Employment, than Heaven and Earth were moved to prevent his Re-election. When they had once given over the Thoughts of being employed themselves, the Note was immediately changed; and it is a Matter never to be sufficiently admired, how stupidly the People, in many Places, fell into their Views, without considering the Absurdity of what they were put upon to do. When the House adjourned, the Doctrine then was, as I have before observed, that a *Change of the Minister, and the Introduction of honest Men into Employments, were the utmost Objects of the People's Wish, and must in the End ensure whatever else was wanting.* But it seems since the Tories were not to be admitted, no other Men were to be deemed honest. Nay, after a little Time, when it was found, that those of more obnoxious Principles were abandoned to Despair, even a Tory, under these Circumstances, found it difficult to be permitted quietly to be rechosen—so silly were the little Tools of this *Faction*, as to delight in, and admire at the Wisdom and Integrity of a Maxim now established, that none of the Party should have a Place, till the Views of their great ones were complied with first.—They still went on calumniating the new Administration for not making Changes fast enough, when they themselves had shut the Door against it, and when no Man, who was not willing to sacrifice his Fortune, by the vast Expence of a certain Opposition, or expose his Person to the dangerous Insults of the Mobs they raised upon every such Occasion, could accept.—Thus the People were brought to insist upon a Point, which, like Ideots, they were led at the same Time palpably to prevent themselves.—I have not misrepresented this Matter; it is well known, that this was the Method of their Proceeding to all Persons without Distinction, and they begun it, before any Man could have given possibly any Reason to be distrusted by his Country, because it was begun before the Parliament met again, after the famous Adjournment. *An honourable Gentleman, (who by the greatest Number of Voices, that ever any Man had upon such an Occasion, was elected Chairman of the Com-*

mittee of Elections but a few Weeks before, who in that nice Conjunction, for his unexceptionable Character, with regard to all Parties, was pitched upon for that Office by the whole Opposition, who neither had, nor could have had at that Time, given a single Vote to diminish that Reputation,) being advanced to be a Commissioner of the *Admiralty* by his Majesty, (for no other Reason, but that he was thought agreeable to the People,) was immediately marked out, as an Object of Detestation to his Country, and not suffered to be chosen into Parliament again.—Another *Right Honourable Member* advanced to the same Office, was persecuted, if possible, with more scandalous Circumstances, the Mob of the whole County, for which he served, were hired to insult him.—Subscriptions raised out of the Pockets of the *whole Faction*, nay pressed publickly in the very *House of Commons* to make a Purse to carry on an Opposition to him: Though at the same Time, this *Noble Person* was a Servant to the *first Subject* of this Kingdom, preferred at his Request and Recommendation, and advanced as a kind of Pledge of Union between the Royal Family itself; and though *his Master* was confessedly the Person by whose Influence and Concurrence in the Cause of his Country, the late Opposition was principally brought to its Issue, who had suffered infinitely more in the Course of it, than the meanest private Gentleman in the Kingdom, and who had done that for the Publick, which no Man in his Station ever did before him, which could not have been expected of *him*, and after this Treatment, must never be expected of *any other* in the same Situation. Thus they gave fair Warning to the *Father*, by their Conduct to the *Son*, what he had to expect from this Set of Men, who, hardened by Disappointments of their own creating, insensibly lost all Regard, either to Prudence, Decency, or Gratitude.

I shall not in this Place proceed to observe minutely, upon the manner of executing all the other Particulars of their Plan, because it required a considerable Time before they could ripen the People, into a sufficient Degree of Madness, to endure those gross Attempts upon their Understandings and their Principles, which they have since made with too much Success. The Arts to be practised to these Ends, were a little slow in Operation, and to be practised at first tenderly.—However, they ventured to sound the Ground they stood upon, and to make some Trial, what Absurdities the Temper of the Times would bear.

In Order to do this, almost as soon as the Parliament was met, they began to oppose every single Proposition, that was made by the new Administration; and though now those very Measures were pursued, with the utmost Vigour, upon which
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they themselves, and the whole Voice of the People had so long and vehemently insisted ; and for not pursuing which an Enquiry was actually set on foot, into the Conduct of the late Minister, who upon this Account was, according to their own Doctrine, to make Attonement by no less a Sacrifice, than that of his Life, his Estate, his Honours, and the utter Ruin of his Posterity ; yet with a barefaced Assurance, which raised the Detestation and Astonishment of all reasonable Men, and which was a very Mockery upon Common Sense, they opposed the sending 16,000 of our Troops into *Flanders*, the taking 4,000 of the *Irish* Troops upon the *British* Establishment, to be sent after the former, and even in some Degree obstructed the Vote for 500,000*l.* to assist the Queen of *Hungary*.—It was visible enough, and it had been their own Form of Reasoning but a few Weeks before, that Measures of this kind, nay more vigorous, if possible, were necessary to be taken in that desperate Situation in which we then stood, to convince the *Dutch*, the King of *Sardinia*, and all foreign Powers, that we were now in earnest.—The Experience they had long had of our Councils would not suffer them to trust us lightly :—The Form of the *Dutch* Government in particular, made them slow to resolve, and their Situation made it desperate to engage, till they were sure of a solid Support :—The King of *Sardinia* had heartily and generously stepped into the Breach, but his Circumstances were, if possible, still more critical :—The Kings of *Prussia* and *Poland* neither could have stopped, if they would, nor probably would if they could, and must have been hurried on where *France* should have directed, or their own Ambition have invited ; if by the gathering of this Cloud, a Storm had not been threatned from the Quarter of *Great Britain*, which might have created both Doubts and Terror as to the Event of their Quarrel ; this was therefore the only Way to induce them to be more moderate and circumspect in their Proceedings. It was certain, that nothing less than this could sustain the drooping Spirits of the Queen of *Hungary*, and of her distressed and faithful Subjects, in the desperate Condition to which they were reduced ; it was therefore past all doubt, that if these Measures were not pursued, she must immediately accommodate with *France* upon any Terms ; and that *France*, having broken the only Power, which could give her any Diversion in an Attempt upon *Great-Britain*, would have been immediately at Liberty to have joined her whole Power with that of *Spain*, and to have given Law to us :—This approaching Situation of our Affairs was but too visible ; nor was it at all extravagant, or very remote to foresee, that it would be-

come much worse ; that some of the Northern Powers might be induced to enter into her Views, and that even the *Dutch* would, at length, be obliged to act as Instruments to the long premeditated Design of that dangerous People, to destroy the Religion, Laws, Liberties and Commerce of this Nation.—This was plainly not to be averted by any other Means than these, and yet were these opposed, though at first in so aukard a Manner, that it was visible they were afraid the People would be shocked at this sudden Turn, and detect their shameful Inconsistency,—which just Effect indeed it had with some ; yet with so many it succeeded beyond their Expectations, that it encouraged them to a Conduct of the same kind, so extravagant, in the next Sessions of Parliament, as will hardly obtain Belief in future Ages.—But the Order of Time, which is necessary to observe in this Narration, prevents my giving a farther Deduction of it in this Place.

I shall take the Liberty however to follow them in some other Branches of their Conduct, as far as they went for the Remainder of that Session, during which they acted constantly with due Regard to one or other of the Rules of that Plan before mentioned.

The Lords having thrown out a *Bill* which the Commons had passed, and which was thought necessary to be carried at that Time, they made a daring Attempt against that Body,—they appointed a Committee to inspect their Journals, and grounded upon their Report a Vote of Censure upon that Branch of the Legislature,—they fortunately miscarried in that Attempt, in which, if they had succeeded, the utmost Confusion must have ensued, and Confusion must have been their only View, for what else could be intended, when under the Notion of obliging the Lords to follow their Opinion, without which they pretended the Nation could not be safe in future, they openly made an Attempt for an immediate Dissolution of the Constitution.—Is the Constitution now so little understood, or has Popular Fury so destroyed all Traces of it, that it should be necessary to explain its Principles at this Day?—Is it not founded upon *this*, which is the *Corner-Stone* of the whole Building, that the *King*, the *Lords*, and the *Commons*, should have an absolute Negative upon the Proceedings of each other.—With what Face then can they, who pretend to struggle in favour of the Constitution, by endeavouring to make the House of Commons more independant than it is, at the same Time attack the House of Lords, to deprive them totally of the same Independancy, to which no Man can deny that they have an equal Right ; supposing that they were ever so justly founded, and

entitled to procure further Securities for the House of Commons, it is an incontrovertible Fact, that by this avowed Attempt, and indeed by all the Doctrines of late instilled into the Minds of the People, they aim at the Destruction of the Constitution in another Part, which is equally Essential,—the best Pretensions they therefore have, are only these ; that they build with *one* Hand, and pull down with *another* ; and that while they stop one Breach against the Influence of the Crown, they open a wider, to the Democratical Spirit of the People,—the Constitution *may*, nay, it *has*, suffered equally from *both*—but what renders it doubly ridiculous, is, that the Crown will equally be able to enter in at the one Breach as at the other,—and every thinking Man may easily foretel, that by what Steps soever this Constitution comes to be destroyed, an absolute Power in a single Person, must be the final Consequence,—this Conduct therefore plainly opens to us, how false these Pretences to the Constitution were, equally false with every other they have made.—For however, at times, both the King, the Lords, and the Commons, in their Turn, may have obstructed what was for the publick Good by this negative Power.—Yet this is no more than what must, and ever will be, the Consequence of a Division of Power in this Constitution.—And if, whenever Power is in any degree abused, it is immediately to be destroyed.—No Government can stand, for no Power can be given, but that it is liable to be sometimes exerted ill ; yet surely no Man will venture to deny, that it is better to submit to some unavoidable Events of Society, than to revert into a State of Nature ; but this the People were too much heated to consider.—It was inculcated, that all Power ought to lie in the People, which if it be rightly understood, implies, the People, including all its Magistrates and Members, of which both the King and the Lords are undoubtedly a part.—But if it be taken in the confined Sense of Faction, imports a Republican Proposition, wholly contradictory to the Genius and the Principles of this Government ; nay, if the People considered this as they ought to do, so far from being incensed either with the *Lords* or with the *Crown*, for opposing the Popular Points which they have sometimes obstructed, they would not think themselves intitled so much as to repine at it,—they would consider, that as they have a Title by the Laws of this Country, to such Powers in the State as they now enjoy, they are under no sort of Obligation to part with them to the third Estate,—that this Impetuosity to force them to it, is not only the strongest Provocation, but also no insufficient Reason to keep the Ground they have, that natu-

rally speaking, by their permanent Interest in the Legislature, their Impossibility of ever becoming Masters of the State, and their natural Interest to keep both the Crown and the People from too great an Ascendancy ; the Lords are the Part of the Constitution, who are most likely to be sincere in its Preservation, either from Tyranny or Faction, and therefore the most proper to hold the Balance.—The Interests of the Lords is undoubtedly to watch and carefully attend to both, for both may in some Conjunctions, be suspected to desire to engross the whole Power ;—and whenever they throw themselves into either the one or the other Scale, a rational Man would sooner judge by their Conduct, how the State of the Constitution stands, than by any other Circumstance.—It was intended, they should do this, and be at full Liberty to do it ; though such must be their Fate, that which-ever Party they espouse, whether that of the Crown, or of the People, the Heat and Passion of the other will infallibly find some Pretences of Partiality or private Interest to charge them with, as their Inducements to that Conduct.—But they are made to stand to all this, and they must stand this, and be supported in it, or else our Constitution cannot stand.—This desperate Measure however passed upon the People, like the rest of their Conduct, as a generous Attempt for Liberty, and answered the Purpose of Popularity, which, next to the View of Confusion, was their second Expectation from it.

We now come to the popular Bills, with which the People have been so much inflamed ; of these I shall take the less Notice in this Place, because I have reserved myself to say something in the Conclusion with regard to them.—But, tho' I shall not here enter much into the Merits of these Bills, I must speak a little of the Conduct of the *Faction*, which cannot be passed over, because their Imposition upon the People was extremely gross, and their Dishonesty in imputing the Failure of them, (so far as they have failed) to those who are far more innocent in this Respect than themselves : These Laws are chiefly comprehended in a *Law for the better Regulation of Elections*, another to prevent Members from sitting in the House of Commons, who have Pensions from the Crown, in the Repeal of the *Septennial Act*, and a *Law to exclude a certain Number of Placemen from sitting in the House of Commons*.—Now, as to the first of these, it is notorious to the whole House of Commons, that it was a Bill, as much laboured by the Gentlemen of the new Administration, and many of those, who now support the Measures of the Government, as it could possibly be ;—and that they were sincere, is evident, by what was since done with regard to the *Scotch Elections* in the last Sessions ;—the true Reason

son therefore that a general Bill did not pass at that Time, was one which equally affected all Parties, and which will everlastingly prevent an effectual Bill of this kind ; and this is the different Rights of Election, which are so numerous, that they distract and confound the different Interests of Gentlemen, which, to speak fairly on all Sides, induces them, by one plausible Pretence or other for their private Regard, to *oppose*, or to *propose*, so many different Clauses, that such Bills at length become impracticable and impalatable to all—the Burgage Tenures too, which Gentlemen will neither part with, nor can tell how to regulate, are another invincible Obstruction ; and the Powers and the Penalties create further Difficulties, which no Human Wisdom has yet been able to surmount.—For this Reason therefore, to impute the Failure of this Bill to any Set of Men, is notoriously unjust, unless it were by laying it in some Measure more severely upon some particular Gentlemen of the *Faction* itself, who contributed more eminently than others to confound that Part of it, which related to certain Counties, where they laboured to encrease the overgrown and almost unconstitutional Interest they have already.—*As to the Pension Bill*, it is a Bill allowed in private by all Parties to be impossible to take Effect, because the giving and taking of Gratuities of this kind are Transactions of so private a Nature, that Men must be downright Fools, and both Parties unite to make a Discovery against themselves, or the Law could take no Effect.—Even in the Case, that Perjury must attend the Acceptance of a Pension, it might induce some profligate Men to double their Crime ;—but it is not to be supposed, that he who would sell his Country, would hesitate to violate his Oath.—However, this was the only possible Provision, and upon this Footing, an honourable Gentleman now in the Administration, often presented it to the House ;—but the great Care of the present Patriots would not trust it any more in his Hands, after he was taken into Employment, and a wise and busy Man among them took it upon himself, who being a true Tory, and therefore of a refined Conscience, and naturally prejudiced to Oaths, purged it of its detestable Whig Clause, which reduced it to a mere nothing, a Law without a Penalty, so that the Bill became a Jest with all Parties, and many in that Light voted for it *then*, who had always opposed it *before*.—The Bill therefore fell into Contempt, and was no longer regarded by any one, but him who had garbled it in this judicious manner.—Having thus related the secret History of this popular Bill, I have only to add, that it is for the Interest of the Publick it should never pass into a Law, and was never desired by any Man of Sense that it should ;—and yet that it is for the Interest of the Publick, that it

it should be frequently proposed in the House of Commons, which double Consideration may render it very consistent for the same Man, to vote for it at one Time, and to vote against it at another,—this may seem a Paradox; but it is easily explained;—for by frequently bringing it into Debate, the Detestation and Scandal of so base a Practice, is maintained in its full Vigour, which is in reality the only Guard against it.—Whereas, if the Bill were once passed, the great nothing, which is desired, being effected, there would be no farther Discourse upon the Subject; those Opportunities of exposing the Meanness and the Danger of the Thing, those animated anniversary Speeches against it would be lost; and with them, in a great Degree, the Remorse and Shame, that now attend the Crime.—We come in the next Place to consider, the Behaviour of these Gentlemen with Regard to *the Repeal of the Septennial Law*, in which they have deluded the People scandalously: It is true, that they moved for this Repeal, and that some of the Gentlemen in the Administration opposed it; but they did it upon a Consideration, which ought to have, and will have the greatest Weight with every thinking Man; they took just Notice of the tempestuous Temper of the People at that Time, and the yet unsettled Condition of our Affairs; they then observed, that the Repeal of this Law must cause a new general Election before it could be possible that these Disorders should subside, and before they could make any solid Judgment of the Effects of the late Change; that as every new Election hazarded, at least, the System of the Time; foreign Nations would not exert themselves in that Conjunction; upon a Dependence on the Principles of Men, who might probably be changed, and consequently new Politicks prevail, almost as soon as they had been embarked with us;—That as the like Considerations had justified the Measures of the Septennial Law at the Time it was made, so the Conjunction of this Time might prevail, at least so far, as to continue it till it might be debated fairly, and with less Heat and Partiality, than it could possibly be at this Period, whether the present Establishment should stand; and, if that should appear improper, whether we should fix upon an Annual or a Triennial Election;—that a Triennial was objected to with strong Reason, and that many thought an annual would be less dangerous; but that it was difficult to settle either in the present Diversity of Opinions upon it:—At the same Time, some of the *principal Leaders of the Faction* voted against it themselves, and that *without giving any Reason at all*; so that the People were deserted in it, by those very Men, upon whom they depended to carry it through, and who with a base Concealment of this Fact, make

make no Scruple to lay the Miscarriage of this Bill, in which they had, at least, an equal Share, solely to the new Administration.—We now come to the *Place-Bill*, in which their Conduct was detestable, for jealous of the Honour and the Popularity, which the new Administration naturally ought to have acquired by it, they not only falsely misrepresented it in the most outrageous Manner, but even openly opposed it: The new Administration had acted in this with the utmost Prudence and Sincerity, and had done much more than could have been expected of them.—The *Crown* and the *Lords* are known to be jealous of the Growth of the *popular Interest*, and it is by mutual Jealousies of this kind, that our Constitution can alone subsist; the Violence and Extravagance of the Leaders of the Faction did not diminish this Jealousy; the Course of the late Elections, and the Temper of the People, not only shewed it less necessary than it had been conceived before by many well-meaning Men, but their Demands were so unlimited, and so little Contentment shewn with former Compliances, that there was in truth very little Prospect of regaining the good old Temper of the Nation by any thing that could be done;—this rendered it the more difficult to obtain any thing; for it was well known, that no Bill brought in by these Incendiaries, would be moderate enough to gain the Assent of the three Estates; it was therefore the only Method that could be taken to enter into a tacit Treaty with the Lords, to agree upon some Bill of this Nature, which they should previously engage not to reject.—It was surely better to procure something, than by pushing for more to get nothing. The Lords agreed to this:—They consented not to oppose a Law, that should exclude above thirteen considerable Employments then actually enjoyed by Members of Parliament; and above three hundred smaller Offices; which, by conferring three or four upon one Person, might have made a vast Number of additional Preferments, a thing still in the Power of the Crown, notwithstanding any former Laws, to do.—But at the same time, they absolutely declared they would go no further at this Time, till they had seen how far this would operate upon the Constitution:—This Difficulty removed, it was necessary to gain the Consent of the House of Commons too; but the *Opposition*, by their Breach with the new Administration, had been so weakned, and the Friends of the old had now rallied to such a Degree, that there was no carrying any Point by Force against them. Thirteen or fourteen of that Party, who were more than sufficient to have turned the Scale against the Bill, were, as we have observed, of the Number to be excluded by it; it could not be expected that they would
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abandon their Employments instantly, to pleasure their Antagonists ; the only way possible to gain their Consent, was to postpone the Execution of this Law to the End of the present Parliament : The deferring its Execution for six Years was not material to the Constitution, and it was thought by all moderate Men, a great Sacrifice in his Majesty, a Condescension in the Lords, and an honest Acquiescence in the Persons possessed of these Employments ; in the one to resign so much of his *Prerogative*, in the other to strengthen the *opposite Side of the Balance*, and in the third to part with their *Employments*, which they had a Prospect to preserve much longer than that Term. The Impossibility therefore of gaining more, if more had been palpably necessary, must have justified the new Administration for getting this : But what made it more infamous to reproach them upon this Head was, that it was actually more than was ever gained by the People, at any one Time, or by any one Bill before :—The other Acts for limiting the Number of Placemen in the House of Commons were all of them obtained one after the other, and at different Periods ; though more therefore had been still wanting, they ought to have contented themselves for a time with this, as their Predecessors had done in the like Conjunctions :—But the *popular Spirit* disgraced itself upon this Occasion, and suffering itself to be led away by Men, who studied nothing but their private Ends, gave too just handle for that Insinuation, which must be most fatal to all its *Views*, and for a Charge upon the *People of England*, which has been too justly laid against all others, that give them one Thing it only leads them to expect more, and that nothing but a total Translation of all Power to their Scale will put a Period to their Clamour : What therefore was done by the Faction in this Instance, was visibly done only with a View to destroy the good Opinion of a Law, the most justly popular, that was ever obtained by this Nation ; if they could effect this, they did not care what the People lost by it, either in their real Security, or in the Suspicions, that would arise with thinking Men, of their dangerous Views against the Constitution ; they knew (which is absolutely the Case to this Day) that not one Man in 500, whom they should enflame upon this Subject, would ever read or consider the real Extent of this Law ; they suggested to the People, that the new Gentlemen in the Administration had formerly contended for a *total Exclusion* of all Employments ; and thence imputed an Inconsistency of Conduct to them, because they had now excluded what they *falsely* called a *few*, whereas this never had been the View, nor ever was intended by those Gentlemen at any Time : They never contended for a Place-Bill much more extensive than

than the present is, and yet it may be justly supposed, that they did, and might honestly insist upon more than they thought sufficient, as the only Way to obtain a Compromise at last, for that which was.

This Plan of creating Confusion was pursued in many other Respects, and by many other Misrepresentations equally gross and wicked; which are too tedious to be mentioned here:—The last I shall mention in this Place, is that with Regard to the Enquiry into the Conduct of the Earl of *Orford*.

We have shewn already how just Offence his Conduct had given to the *Whigs*, and how by a fatal Series of pacifick Measures he had brought almost the same Catastrophe upon his Country, which some Day or other will too probably be effected by another Set of Men—The *Whigs* avowed their Opposition to be levelled at this Man, not out of any Personal Aversion to him, but because he was irreclaimable in this fatal Point; the *Whigs* had levelled at this Man for another Reason, which was, during the Course of this necessary Opposition, to prevent the Discontents from taking a Turn to the Prejudice of the Royal Family, and had confined themselves in their Attack to his Person, that by the Removal of that one Man they might leave it in the Power of the Government to restore the publick Tranquillity again whenever they should think proper:—It was therefore upon an honest, though political Principle, that their Opposition was thus personal; not out of those vindictive and sanguinary Views, which in the Course of the Opposition the *Tories*, who had allied themselves with them, treacherously in private Discourse accused them of, and which now they upbraid them with having departed from:—Yet allowing that some Men in their first Engagements in the late Opposition, had embarked upon personal Motives, and had been heated to this Degree by their Resentments, or the Disappointment of their Ambition, shall it be forbidden to Age, Experience, Reason, Virtue and Reflection, to take their happy Effect, and moderate those Passions, which are in themselves wicked and unwarrantable; and shall it be imputed as a Crime to any Man to have sacrificed his private Views and his Resentments, as some have greatly done upon this late Change, to the Peace and Tranquillity of their Country: But it is the Nature of these Men in their *Alliances*, to expose the *Faults* of those, with whom they act, and in their *Enmity* to traduce the *Virtue* of those they act against.

However, though the *Whigs* in the late Opposition did not mean to pursue their Vengeance to the Head of this Minister, they certainly did mean to deprive him of all his Power, and to

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set some Mark upon him that might prevent his Return into it again, and if possible deter any future Minister from the same unhappy Conduct.—One Part of this they have been able to effect, and it is the most immediately necessary, and the most material ; and we shall honestly shew the Reasons why they did not compass the rest,—Reasons very sufficient to support them against all the infamous Suggestions of the Faction.

Whoever duly considers the Course of the Mismanagements of this Man, of which I have purposely given a large Deduction, will candidly confess, that the infamous Peace of *Utrecht* laid their first Foundation, in which it is visible he had no Hand ; —the Disorders arising afterwards from the unsettled State of *Europe*, brought on the Quadruple Alliance, that, in Process of Time, begot the Treaty of *Hanover*, and from the Treaty of *Hanover*, by the fatal Blunder of joining *France* against the House of *Austria*, he became involved in such Difficulties, as he could never recover.—But ruinous as all his future Measures were, they were of such a Nature, as could not be imputed to any corrupt Engagements with any foreign Power, upon which Ground alone the Publick think it warrantable to pursue him to Destruction.—I must repeat it, the very Nature of his imprudent Conduct clears him from a Suspicion of this ; his Crime lay in proceeding round the Globe, obliging and disobliging every Power of *Europe* in its Turn.—This he reiterated so often, and provoked them all so much, that it is morally impossible, the Resentments of these Powers, should not have produced a Discovery of this Treason, if any such there had been.

Bad and ruinous as his Measures therefore were, they cannot justly be ascribed to these Motives,—the Difficulties of the Times, though certainly in part created by himself, plainly shew what they were, the Consequences of the Peace of *Utrecht* before his Time, and chiefly of one fatal Blunder after.—This is palpably the Fact with Regard to his foreign Transactions, and every domestick Subject of Complaint naturally flowed from the same Spring.

For Opposition grew insensibly so strong upon this unhappy Measure, that it drove him to practise any Art, to defend not only his Power, but his Person,—his pacifick Obstinacy became at length in a manner necessary, both to himself and to his Country ; —he dreaded the Confusion which he apprehended from a Change, —the Event has shewn he had some Reason, tho' he blended his private Fears too much with his Apprehensions for the Publick—an Error which every Man's Tenderness to himself exposes him to,—he foresaw what

has since happened, that even a just, a necessary, and a successful War, may a Way demanded by the whole Nation, would secure no Minister, who engaged in it, from the Discontents, which the bare expences, and much more the various Accidents that attended it, would infallibly create.—That private Views, and corrupt Principles, influence so great a Majority in every Opposition, that though the Points were complied with, upon which they then insisted, they would still, in general persevere, that they would even misrepresent the Conduct of their own Plan, and that however scandalous it is for a Nation to press its Government into Measures, and to desert them when engaged, yet that in the heated Multitude, the Majority are composed of Men, in whom such Scruples are not found.—He foretold, what has been so well verified, that the Enemies of their Country, however low and dead they may appear in Times of Quiet, revive in the Heat of War, like Flies and noxious Insects in the Sun. He therefore thought that in attempting to appease the publick Discontents, by complying with their Demands for War, he should only furnish Fuel for their farther Nourishment.—He knew, that by the fatal Consequences of *Party*, National *Dissatisfaction* is, in this Country, very nearly allied to *Disaffection*,—as much as he at first despised the *Tories*, he dreaded them as much at last,—he justly feared that the Success of the *Party* that opposed, though led by *Whig Leaders*, and founded upon *Whig Principles*, would infallibly end in the Formation of a *Tory Faction*; and he dreaded, from that Faction, what every wise and honest Man dreads from it in this Conjunction, and what we should have already fatally experienced, if some, from whom perhaps he least expected this Moderation, had not gallantly opposed themselves to the Torrent, thinking it the more incumbent upon them to restrain its Fury, and confine it within just Bounds, as they, (though honestly and necessarily compelled to it,) had been the Men who raised it, preferring the solid Satisfaction of having twice saved their Country, to all the Noise of giddy Popularity, resigning it when they could no longer keep it by virtuous Means, despising the Rage and Malice of a *Faction*, sincerely pitying, but determined not to follow an honest, but deluded People, who after passing many Dangers, and perhaps smarting for their Folly, will live to do Justice to the great Characters, they now licentiously and injuriously defame.

These were the Principles upon which the Earl of *Orford* went, and this was the whole Mystery of his unfortunate Administration.—It is easy to point out both his *Follies* and his *Faults*.—His *Folly* was to lay down for this Country, a System prudent

prudent for a petty State, but very improper for a Country, which bears so great a Sway, and ought to take the Lead in *Europe*.—It is for a little State to pursue little Measures, to temporize, to trust to Expedients and Events, to wait for Accidents, and the Activity of other Powers. But this is a Policy ill becoming us, and fatal ever in its Consequence, both to ourselves and to our natural Allies, whose Rank and Condition of Power compels them to consider an immediate Security, and can never admit them to exert their Force against *that State*, whose constant Aim is Universal Monarchy, till we raise the Standard first, and convince them, that under that Protection they may do it safely. His *Folly* appeared in another Instance, in not yielding sooner to what he could not hope long to prevent, an Evil which gathered Strength, and became more dangerous by Delay, and by the Means he was compelled to use in order to delay it.—His *Fault* lay in his Fondness to continue in his Power, his Partiality to himself, his Conceit of his own Abilities, his Fear of his own personal Safety, all which induced him, or misled him, to mistake the true Interest of his Royal Master, and his Country, and drove him to make use of every Means of Ministerial Influence, to strain every Nerve of Power, allotted by the Wisdom of our Ancestors for the Security of Government, and to apply that Force for his own Defence.—By which he has brought the necessary Guards of our Constitution into Disrepute, and has established an Opinion in many, and a Suspicion in more, that our Constitution is impaired, whereas in truth, it has only been abused,—a Difference extremely great, and such, as if not attended justly to, may hurry us into the Use of Remedies much worse than the Disease. In this Light does the Conduct of this Minister appear to every moderate Man, and no doubt in a yet more favourable Light to those who were his Friends, who had concurred in his Measures many Years, who owed him many Obligations.—Never was a Man in private Life more beloved, and his worst Enemies allow, no Man did ever in private Life deserve it more:—He was humane and grateful, and a generous Friend, to all whom he did not think would abuse that Friendship.—That he was false, and determined to the Prejudice of those, whom he considered in this Light, is no more than will be found in any Minister or Man,—and that he should be deceived in some Cases by unjust Suspicion, is but human too.—Many therefore have been unjustly treated by him, though but few considering the Manner in which he was pressed, and the great Length of his Administration.—This Character naturally procured that Attachment to his Person, which has been falsely attributed solely to a corrupt Influence, and to private Interest ;
but

but this shewed itself at a time when these Principles were very faint in their Operation, and when his Ruin seemed inevitable.—The Violence with which he was pushed, the Ferment of the People, who would content themselves with nothing but his Life, made these Men exert themselves in the extraordinary Manner they have done to preserve him.—Many, who condemned his Conduct, and would have gone so far as to have deprived him of a Possibility of exerting the same again, did not think it warrantable to take that severe Revenge, upon an obstinate mistaken Man, who had indeed violated the Interests of his Country, and trespassed upon the Power in his Hands, but who had not exposed himself to the Penalty of any one known Law.—This *Summum Jus*, appeared to them to be *Summa Injuria*, and the Laws must have been more tortured to have reached him capitally, than he had strained his Power to maintain himself:—Yet had he not been defended in the manner in which he was (offensive enough to those who consider the *Manner*, and not the *End*) such a Sentence, in the Rage of that Time, had been, in all Probability, his Fate.—Few were in their Hearts inclined to this Extremity, though many, by the fatal Attraction of Party, might have been drawn to have signed his Warrant, who would have afterwards heartily lamented what they had done.—Had it been even necessary to have taken this violent Step, there is in *Englishmen*, as sure a Season for Compassion as for Fury:—To the latter, they are easily raised—from the former, when the Deed is done, they never can be diverted. An Administration founded, or a Party cemented by Blood, would have been the Loathing of this Nation, and in this case would have been so justly.—If this be truly considered, was it not more honest, was it not more just, to stop short, without even that Punishment, which perhaps very many think was due, than to have carried that Punishment so far, as to have fixed the Guilt of Murder upon this Nation:—And less than Murder it can never be, to take the Life of any Man, which no Law of this Land could have taken from him.—These Considerations operated with so many, that had it been ever so just, it was not practicable to have gone farther with him;—the other Members of the Legislature reasoned firmly upon the Reflections I have mentioned, the Majority of the House of Commons thought so too.—The farther Pursuit might have therefore been an Amusement to the Multitude; but it was not for *that alone* reasonable to persist in it, as no good End could follow from it, the Effect could have only been Confusion, and a Handle to blacken and reproach the Characters of Men, whom Gratitude Principle, and just Scruple withheld, and who were fixed to

with-hold for ever.—All that I have here observed is, only to shew how natural it was to have met the Obstruction in this Point that has been found, and how impossible it was to have proceeded farther with this Minister, than was done by the new Administration.—We have shewn, that the very Men, who reflect upon them for it, had been by their intemperate Behaviour the great Cause why the Party of the late Minister had rallied. Their Violence in this Particular, was the finishing Stroke ;—no other Point could have united his Friends in the same Degree.—It was obvious, after the first Experiment, that this must have been the Case ; opiniating this Matter further, therefore manifestly proves, that they meant nothing, but to make this Man's Cause an Engine of Sedition, by which they laboured, to render a Person, who in Power had done great Prejudice to his Country, the total Ruin of it in his Fall. I shall conclude, with Regard to this Particular, with only one Observation, That of all Men living, the *Tories* have the least Reason to villify his Conduct.—First, because it was the Disorders caused by their wicked Conduct in the Peace of *Utrecht*, that first laid the Foundation of all the Errors of this Minister.—Secondly, Because the *Whigs* had not proceeded in this sanguinary Way, against a Minister of their *Faction*, whose Conduct had been directly levelled against his Country, and who had assisted in a Plan for effecting that which at least appears, to every *Whig*, the greatest of all Crimes, the advancing a *Popish Prince* upon the Throne, and sacrificing every Thing to *France*, to compass this pernicious View.—And, Thirdly, Because they had *themselves* stopt short but the Year before, upon a Motion which tended only to remove the Minister from Power ;—their Behaviour therefore against the Minister in the present Time, shews, first, That they are without Shame ; secondly, That they are void of Gratitude ; thirdly, That they are false in their pretended Zeal, and consequently, that their Behaviour upon this Head ought to be odious to every Man, who has any Sense of Virtue, Honesty, or Honour ; but their Point was to misrepresent the new Administration, and the same Desire of Misrepresentation, led them to fall soon after, without Mercy, on the Characters of the Members of the Secret Committee, some of whom, not long after, obtained Employments, which they thirsted after themselves, and the View of which was so apparently one of the Grounds of their own Opposition.—This they pretended to be a Proof of Treachery and Corruption, in the Persons upon whom they were conferred ; whereas the just Reflection to be made upon it, was most pleasing to all well-meaning Men, since it was a convincing Evidence, that the Prince
upon

upon the Throne bore no Resentment even to those of his Subjects, who were engaged in the deepest manner against his late Minister, when he was once satisfied, that they were not tainted in their Principles, either to himself, or to the Constitution of their Country.

Thus it was, that the Faction proceeded as soon as they lost Sight of their private Advantages, and the Prospect of a *Tory Administration*.—Every one of their Proceedings visibly appeared totally with the Conduct of the same Faction in all former Times:—They could not be mistaken, and there wanted nothing to fix it upon them, but direct Attempts to poison the People, with regard to the Prince upon the Throne, and to the Royal Family.—This farther evidence was not long deficient, for even before that Session was over, the Publick swarmed with such Seditions and Treasonable Libels, and impudent Productions, both in Verse and Prose, as never had been endured in any Age or Nation, which, encouraged by Impunity, have since risen to a Point that calls aloud for signal Punishment.—But to what it arrived at last, is not yet Time to relate; it was not till the next Session, that the Mask was compleatly taken off, and the Method I have laid down obliges me, first, to *observe the Conduct of the new Administration during the Interval of Parliament, the Success of their Measures, and the Difference that appeared in the Situation of our Affairs at the second meeting of the Parliament.*

Now, as to the Conduct of these Gentlemen in the Administration, and those who have acted with them, it appears undeniably, from what we have already shewn with Regard to the *Faction*, that they could act no other Part than to support the Measures of the Government.—First, Because these Measures were their own, they were directed by themselves, and it is a palpable Absurdity for an Administration to oppose itself. Secondly, Because nothing but Ruin could have ensued, either *at Home* or *Abroad*, if they had not desisted when they did.

For if they had not desisted when the Minister was removed, and when the Direction of the Measures was left to them,—one Month's Continuance of the former Administration, must have destroyed the House of *Austria* without Redemption,—and they had been much more criminal even than the late Minister himself, if they had neglected this Opportunity to save it, and refused when it was in their Power to do it;—again, if they had declined the Acceptance of this Power when it was thus offered to them, what equal, or what other Benefit could have accrued to their Country by it?

It is obvious that nothing but Confusion at home could have been effected by it.—Their Party had been broken wilfully by

the intemperate Conduct of the Faction; and it is absurd to imagine that Parties thus broken can be ever reunited:—By the Effects of their Madness, the Ministerial Party, which had never been vanquished, and had only retreated, were now rallied, and as they were before equal, were now as visibly superior in the House of Commons, as they had been all the Time before in the House of Lords, and in another Place;—the reasonable and the moderate Men had already left them; and if a civil War had happened every Man of Family and Fortune had been driven from them by it. Now that a civil War had been the Consequence, is the Opinion of every Man of Experience in this Country: The Symptoms of it never appeared so strong in any Period of our History; many knew this who concealed it, and ridiculed the Apprehension, resolving to run all Risques for their private Advantage, and many more because it was the only probable Way of succeeding in the great View peculiar to their Faction.—Convulsions of this kind are never foreseen by the Generality of Men; for if they were, they could not possibly happen, because Faction would be deserted before it could proceed so far: The People of *England* were drawn on to the great Rebellion by the very same Pretences, with which they were now encouraged to persist; they were told that the opposite Side would yield if they continued firm:—None or very few of the Parliament of 1641 thought that the King either would or could have resisted: Sir *Benjamin Rudyard*, a very leading Man in the Opposition of that Time, upon his Death Bed grievously lamented that he had been deceived by *Pym* and *Hamden* into this Opinion; *Whitlocke*, another of that Stamp, strongly observes this Management of the Faction of that Age; both Lord *Clarendon* and *Whitlocke*, and indeed all the other considerable Historians of that Time, agree upon it, and remark the Astonishment of the whole Nation, when the King took the Field, and the Battle of *Edge-hill* was fought; that they began sorely to repent, but it was then too late, and they were obliged to go on:—Now if a King of *England* at that Time, who had strained Prerogative so high, who had manifestly declared his Pretensions to absolute Power, who had galled both the Poor and Rich, and had ruled with a Rod of Iron, could have stood his Ground so well, and during that Contest frequently brought his Antagonist to the Brink of Ruin, and his People to the Verge of an irredeemable Bondage, what Man can think so basely of his Countrymen in this Age, as to imagine, that a Prince would now find no Friends, who has strictly made the Laws of this Land the sole Rule of his Government from the Beginning of his Reign; under whom no one Instance of illegal

gal Conduct can be instanced, and against whom nothing was pretended to be urged, but the having upheld too long a Minister, who was odious, (whether justly or unjustly, no matter which,) to his Country; when even this had been done in a legal Way, and when that Minister had been actually removed at the pressing Instances of the People, and before the Majority of either House of Parliament had pronounced him guilty of any Crime:—This Opinion is therefore very weak, and weaker still when we compare that Time with this. There was then no Pretender to the Throne, from whom a Change of Religion, and a Confiscation of Estates might be expected, which Fears would operate upon many now, and cannot fail to tie a mighty Number steady to this Family; that Prince had no Revenues, and he had no Army; the present Prince has both: And though he neither could nor would employ either to enslave his People, he undoubtedly would and could exert them in his own just Defence, and in that of the Constitution of his Kingdoms; and he would be warranted before God and Man to do it:—But would any Man of Sense, any Man who sincerely loved his Country, desire to drive things to this Extremity:—It is vain to flatter and cheat the People with an affected Tenderness for Liberty, when they press so furiously to put it upon such an Issue:—It needs no Solomon to pass a Judgment to which of the two Parents this Child belongs.

In Truth there was no Possibility for an honest Man in his right Senses to act any longer with these Men, when it was notorious by their Conduct, and by their Declarations in their Meetings to support what they called the *Broad-Bottom*, that their Contest was not only so in Fact, but avowed to be for private Profit and Employments. When in that Conjunction, all the Cry against those, who were first taken in, was grounded singly upon the Non-admission of all the *Tories*, and Men of known worse Principles; had it been either wise or honest to have stopped that Settlement of our Affairs so infinitely necessary to prevent Ruin Abroad and Confusion at Home, for the Sake of any private Men whatever, and much more for the Sake of Men of such a Character? It had been already done in some Degree; It was earnestly wished to have done it farther; It might have been prudent in such a Time, to have gratified even the private and corrupt Views of some for the publick Tranquillity; and it would have been done, if the publick Safety could have suffered it; in proportion as the Moderation of Particulars could have allowed: but the Violence of the Faction put it beyond Discretion, and out of the Power of Government to do it. Their Conduct fully confirmed all former Suspicions; the Demand was too

general to be complied with ; the Execution expected too suddenly ; the Nature of it too disgustful to dispose the Heart of any generous Man to yield. There is a Degree of private Interest, which may, which must be allowed to human Nature. It is not Honesty but Folly to decline any Advantages, which are not procured by any Sacrifice of Principle, or any other unworthy Means ; but when it appears barefaced and impudent, when it is regardless of all ill Consequences, when it attempts to ravish and over-power all just Authority, it then becomes detestable, dangerous and must be crushed at all Events ; was it not enough that the Minister had been borne down by the People ? that every Day produced new Changes in Favour of the new Administration ? Must the Government, the Privy-Council, all Employments in the State be canton'd out *ad arbitrium populi*, nay by a *private Cabal*, or at the *Tavern Meetings* of a direct *Faction* ? What would the rational World think of this Constitution, if the Laws of this Country put this power into the Hands of the People ; but how much more monstrous, if it should, or could be suffered to be done at their Caprice, without any Law at all, and by their own arbitrary Will.

When a Combination visibly appeared, to exclude all Men from a Re-election into Parliament, who accepted of Employments ; when the most expensive Oppositions were created by all the worst and most corrupt Means to turn such Elections against the Persons who accepted : how was it possible, for the new Administration any longer to pursue their View of bringing in their Friends, much less of making that Rout among the Placemen of the old Party, which was so vainly and absurdly insisted upon ?—When it was now on a sudden become the wild Doctrine of the People, to let no Placemen at all into Parliament ; and when the Doctrine of the Faction was, that none should be suffered to come in but by their Consent and Approbation ; was not the Absurdity of *the first* a thing, that rendered it impossible ; the Conduct of *the other*, of such a Tendency, as no Government can or ought to bear ; preposterous beyond the Power of Words to express it, inconsistent with the Constitution, subversive of all Order in the State, and productive of such Consequences, as must have encouraged Faction to a Degree, that would not allow one Hour's Peace in future Time to this Country.

With regard to the Popular Laws, the Leaders of the Opposition sincerely wished many things amended in our Constitution ; they had begun by a *Place Bill*, by the *Alteration in the Mutiny Bill*, with regard to the Billeting of Soldiers in the City

City and Liberty of *Westminster*, have since proceeded by a *Law for regulating the Scotch Elections*, and by the *Abolition of the Pot Act*, which being under the Regulations of the *Excise*, and settled at the *arbitrary* Estimation of that *Commission*, was a heavy Oppression, and great Instrument of Influence through the whole Capital; and they *still do honestly mean*, as fast as they can, to rectify all other Matters of *just* Uneasiness.—But was it possible, as things were circumstanced, or would it be prudent, in any Time, to make every Alteration of this kind at once?—If these Things be duly considered, they are great Points already gained.—These Things however are said to be nothing, but the little Content they have given is no Proof that they are nothing.—I wish it may not rather lead to prove, that nothing but a total Change to Popular Government will do.—In such an heated Condition, was it fitting that Popular Bills, be they necessary, or be they not, should be ravished by Force, when all those different Plans of Reformation, which, during the Course of the former Opposition, had been proposed by Men of different Principles, never approved by all, and assented too temporarily by the different Parties *only* for the sake of Union,—positively known not to be all necessary, but moved as *Succedanea* to each other; when one was lost, to supply its Place by another, not in the View to procure *all*, but in Hopes at last to get *something*.—When all these different Propositions were now ignorantly and grossly confounded by the Vulgar, and blended into (what was never dreamed of, or intended in the greatest Fire of Opposition) one regular Scheme of a new Constitution, and when this was insolently made the *Alternative* of *Peace* or *War* between the *Governours* and the *Governed*,—when, among those who thought themselves most moderate, no two Men agreed upon what was necessary.—Some thinking that all Security lay in a good Place-Bill, about the Degree and Extent of which they likewise differed.—Some in a *Pension Bill*, which others more justly thought would signify nothing.—Some in a Law for *Triennial Parliaments*, which all who did not delight in Riot, or in the prospect of Corruption, thought both dangerous and dubious.—Some for *Annual Parliaments*, which others thought too frequent.—Some for *Justice on the Earl of Orford*.—Others not for sanguinary Views.—Some for a *Reduction of the Civil List*, which others thought unjust to be taken away, having been legally given.—Some for the *Sale of all Employments*.—Others for allowing a few.—Some for taking the *Disposition of them out of the Crown*, which others thought Anti-Constitutional.—Some for *allowing them to subsist*, but to be given only to those who were not in Parliament, that is, among themselves.

—Some to allow them but *to be given for Life*.—Some for making the *Army independant*.—Others for *no regular Troops at all*. In this Passion, Irregularity, and Uncertainty of Publick Opinion, if the Leaders of the Opposition had stood out still the People were satisfied, it is plain they must have stood up or ever.—For whatever Concessions had been made, the Bulk of that Set of Men, who, as I have observed in the Beginning, compose all kinds of Opposition, would have still remained dissatisfied.—And this Set of Men, whether in the Right or the Wrong, always assume to themselves the Title of *the People*. Farther whatever single Points has been obtained, it was now become a Maxim, that nothing was got, if all was not got, and at least those who had not been gratified in their respective favourite Propositions, would have still continued to abuse and villify in the same degree.—And if all had been granted, which was impossible, and absurd, (because, as I have observed, all was never by any wise Man intended,) many others had been offended and terrified, at so great a Change in the Constitution, to the other Extreme.—They would have justly complained, that the King and the Lords were rendered useless, that an Anarchy must be at length the Consequence, that the People would be raised to the Power of doing tumultuously every thing they listed, and that being arrived at this Power, they would naturally fall under the Direction of wicked and factious Men, who would lead them to pursue a thousand wilder Projects, which would have daily opened in proportion to their Success. In Consequence of this, a new Opposition would have risen upon quite contrary Notions.—This Opposition would have naturally degenerated into those deep *Monarchical Principles*, which would have brought us back again to *Passive Obedience, Non-Resistance, Hereditary Right*, and all that *Train of Nonsense*, which infested the *Reason* of this Country so many Years.—Great Numbers are to be found in this Nation, who will not trust to the limited Views of the People, who know, that when they gain one thing by Force, they are taught from thence to extort every thing by the same means; that as surely as *Princes* aim at *absolute Power*, the *popular Interest* equally drives at a *Democracy*; and when they are put into a Condition to enforce their Demands, never will desist in any Country till they get it.—This is not the Meaning of any honest Man, who would sooner keep this Constitution, with all its Faults, than put to Sea in Storms to search for another.—The People and Tribunes of *Rome* never rested till they got the Power of the Commonwealth into their Hands:—Their Ambition then became so notorious, their Views so corrupt, their Attempts so mad,

mad, that the Senate they opposed, and endeavoured to destroy, (though themselves not wholly free from Blame,) made Friends by the Extravagance of their Antagonists, to resist them.—In the Resistance, private Men grew too great for both, and the Contest ended in the Loss of Liberty.—It did so in *England* in the Time of *Cromwell*; the People never ceased pushing for the whole Power, till Reason came on the Side of the Crown;—the *King* was then enabled to resist, which, when he did, if he had conquered, the Nation had been Slaves to him,—as it happened, the popular General became the Tyrant.—The unreasonable Opposition of the Cortez to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, compleatly ruined the Liberties of *Spain*,—it was worked up into Rebellion, and it would be good to remark the Pretensions of that Opposition, the Commencement, Course and Issue of that Rebellion, if we had time to do it here.

Yet no Man will deny, but that the People and Tribunes of *Rome* were in the Right to oppose the too great Power of the Senate to a certain Point.

The People of *England*, to oppose the weak and wicked Government of the Ministry of *Charles* the First, had they known where to have stopped.

The Cortez of *Spain*, to have exerted their Privileges, had they done it with Moderation, and without falling into Faction.

The *Error* lay, in not being contented with the just Concessions that were made to every one of these.

The *Crime* in attempting by Force to alter their respective Constitutions, which ought ever to be deemed sacred:—Constitutions once established, can never be with Justice altered, but by the full and free Consent of the different Members of the Legislature.—It is intolerable for any one Member of it, to force the rest to concede any thing. Such an Attempt rarely fails to meet the Fate, which attends Injustice in all its Steps; it seldom ends, but in the Ruin of the Projectors, and in the utter Defeat of what they project.

As long as Men, by legal Ways alone, endeavour to procure Laws, which appear good to them, and quietly sit down under their Disappointment, if a Majority cannot be prevailed upon to come into their Opinions, and do not insolently think themselves entitled to model the Constitution of their Country to their own fantastic Whim, such Endeavours deserve no Censure, they may in time produce good Laws, and good Effects.—But when Men pretend to dictate to the Legislature, and impudently preach and justify Rebellion, if they meet with Contradiction, Government must answer sternly to such importunate Demands:—While such a Temper continues, it is dangerous

gerous to grant any thing, one such Precedent will beget a thousand, and is sufficient to overthrow the best established Constitution upon Earth: When it shall subside so far, that the People seem to be capable of Contentment, upon moderate Concessions, that Man is dishonest, who will not exert himself to procure for them all that is fair, just, and prudent.—But till then, he must be mad, or worse, who will yield one single Point, which they never receive with Gratitude, but attribute always to themselves, and consider, as extorted by Force, an Evidence of their own Power, an Imbecility in Government, and an Encouragement to all Intemperance.

When such was the Case of this Country, when Men of the most infamous and factious Views, began to unmask, and shew themselves without the least Reserve, when Treason was become a publick Topic of Discourse, when all Decency, Order, and Subordination, was in a manner destroyed, and the Populace indiscriminately treated every Character of Dignity, Worth, and Honour, with an outrageous Insolence and Contempt—Had it been the Part of Patriotism to have stood out longer, to have further aggravated and inflamed this Extravagance, which threatened the Dissolution of Government itself in all its Parts?

When it was manifest, that there was a Party, whom nothing could content but the Ruin of the present Family upon the Throne, and who would have still continued to oppose, let what Changes soever have been made.—When by the most flagrant Instances of Passion, Faction, wicked Principles, both Republican and Jacobite, private Corruption, and an utter Disregard of the Publick, were become thus manifest; when even popular Laws, as the Place Bill, and the Rectification of all our Foreign Measures were opposed; when nothing but tearing the Government down, the Constitution up by the Roots, putting the Administration of all our Affairs into the Hands of the most violent and dangerous Men, when no Time was given to effect any thing; but in the very first Week of the Change, a few Men, disappointed of Places, which they had carved out for themselves, had raised the Inflammation to a higher Point than ever, when the Effect of their Labours upon the People had discovered what a desperate Temper they were in, when, in order to gain them to their Side, they had pawned, as it were, their Honour, *if they acquired Power* to yield every thing that the most violent desired,—when, if this Compromise with them had been afterwards *broken*, the Nation must have fallen into worse Confusion; and if the Compromise were *kept*, the Government and Constitution must have been subverted,—when they had openly drawn the
Sword,

Sword, and vowed Revenge, against those Leaders who had wrought the Change, could those Leaders have stood out till these Men were satisfied, could they have resigned their Station, relied again upon these People, or entertained any Hopes, that the Union broken, by the Violence of these Men, could have been restored again, or could have had any Prospect with this disunited Body, to have prevented the Return of the former Minister?

When by this mad, inconsistent and wretched Conduct the honest Leaders of the former Opposition were in so great a degree disarmed of Power to do all the Good they wished to the Publick, or the Service they intended to their Friends; was it not wise and honest to make the best Use, that they could of this Conjunction? When the Madness of others prevented their making it better, was it not for the Interest of their Country to act in such a Way; as to keep out the former Minister, and to employ the Influence of their new Stations equally to prevent the Continuance of the old Measures, and to prevent the pernicious Designs of a dangerous *Faction* in this unworthy Manner labouring to come in?—Were they not justified to join with those, who (upon various Motives, some from Error, some from Shame, some from the Difficulty of quitting the Party, with which they had been so long engaged, some from a mistaken Principle of Gratitude, and false Notion of Honour, nay, suppose some from Corruption itself,) though they had done wrong before, were now ready and willing to change their Conduct, to rectify mistakes, and to pursue those very Measures, which were absolutely necessary, right in themselves, which had been the declared View of all honest Men till that Moment, and had been loudly called for so many Years by the whole People? No worthy Man will deny that they were not justified in this Conduct; no Man of Sense can deny but that they did both honestly and greatly in what they did; *Cunctando restituerunt rem, non enim ponebant rumores ante salutem*: By this temperate and steady Behaviour under all these galling Difficulties, of Insult, Clamour and unjust Reproach, they maintained so much Credit in despite of those, who laboured to destroy it, that they changed the whole Spirit and Conduct of the Administration.

The Consequences of their vigorous Proceeding, quickly shewed itself in a wonderful Degree; the Face of Affairs turned in a most merciful and happy Manner, beyond the most sanguine Hope and Expectation of Mankind: The King of *Prussia* and the Queen of *Hungary* were brought to Terms; the one to quit his Confederacy with *France*; the other to yield

yield a Part of her Rights to induce him to it ; the first manifestly from an Apprehension of the Issue of the Contest, which grew precarious upon the Exertion of the *British* Power ; the other in a Confidence of future Support from this Nation, in Return for an extraordinary Concession. The *Austrian* Armies ravaged, plundered and became entirely Masters of *Bavaria*, carrying the War into the Countries, and sustaining themselves at the Expence, of the Enemy : Animated by the Prospect of further Assistance from *Great-Britain*, and depending in Consequence upon that of the *Dutch*, (whose Armies were actually augmented by 30,000 Men, and who begun in proportion as they saw they could confide in our Councils, to withdraw their Deference from *France*,) they exerted themselves with a Bravery and Spirit, which carried every Thing before it ; the Supplies we had given the Court of *Vienna* enabled her, besides leaving 20,000 regular Troops in *Flanders*, to take the Field with three Armies ; one in *Bohemia*, another in *Bavaria*, and a third in *Italy* ; which last, in Conjunction with a Body of *Sardinian* Forces, were sufficient to make Head against a numerous Army of *Spaniards* in that Country ; the farther Supply given the King of *Sardinia* enabled him not only to form that Army last mentioned, but to compose another at the Head of which, with infinite Hazard to his Person, infinite Hardship and Fatigue ; he defended his *Dutchy of Savoy* during the whole Summer, and the greater Part of a long Winter's Campaign against another great and well-appointed Army of *Spaniards* headed by a Prince of *Spain*, and in spite of all their Efforts, in which their best Troops and immense Sums were wasted, has to this Hour barr'd their Passage into *Italy* ; nor was this all, for by a strong Fleet of Men of War in the *Mediterranean* and a proper Use of it, we struck such Terror, that the Court of *Naples* was obliged to agree to a Neutrality, and prevented an Army of 40,000 Men from succouring the Troops of *Spain*, which in the first Place, saved the Loss of the Ballance in *Italy* ; in the second, proved the Ruin of the *Spanish* Army there ; in the third, laid those Seeds of Discontent between the *Spanish* Court and that of *Naples*, (the former thinking it the strongest Instance of Ingratitude, to be deserted in this Extremity, by their own Son, who was so lately raised to that Dignity solely by the Expence of the Blood and Treasure of the *Spanish* Monarchy) as will probably never be removed, and may be the Foundation of great Advantage to us hereafter ; in the fourth Place, it has discovered to us, of what Weight we may hereafter be in that Part of *Europe* in a higher Degree than ever we knew it ; in the fifth,

fifth, it has been the most severe Revenge, and was the most complete Method to distress the Court of *Spain*: For in a War with that Power, we could not have wasted her Treasure, and ruined her Reputation, in an equal Degree, or destroyed so many of her Troops in twenty Years, by any other Means, with this farther Advantage, that we rendered the Administration of the Queen intolerable to her Subjects, who were thus oppressed with Taxes, and drained of all their Men and Money to gratify ambitious Views, attended with these aggravating Circumstances, that they brought not only Ruin, but Disgrace and Scandal upon their Arms in every Instance: To this was joined an almost total Interruption of their Trade, and their Returns of Money from the *Indies*, which, as fast as their inexpressible Necessities obliged them to be made, were, in very many Instances, intercepted by the Vigour and Diligence of the Navy stationed, commanded and directed by the new Admiralty; which Gains, if fairly accounted for, not only ballanced all the Losses, that our Merchants have sustained (notwithstanding the Number of their Privateers and the Extent of our Commerce) since the Time of the late Change, but have gone far to wipe off those Scores, which had been run up against them, by the Neglect and imprudent Conduct of the former Administration.

It could now be said no longer, that our Hands were tied by Fear, by Corruption, or by neutral Engagements.—We rode triumphant on the Ocean, our proper Element,—We confined both the whole *French* and *Spanish* Fleets, who, tho' combined, dared not venture to oppose us, while we employed but a Part of ours to do both this, and to keep *Naples* to its Neutrality, to insult their Ports, and barr their Privateers from issuing in any Numbers from the rest.—We restored the Honour of our Flag, and now returned the Insolence of *France*, whom we treated with the same Contempt, with which she, for many Years, had treated us.—We burnt the Ships of her Allies, and our Enemies, in her Ports, we searched and rummaged almost every Vessel she has put to Sea.—Our Fleets sailed from *Jamaica* with an avowed Design to attack, sink, burn, and destroy the Squadrons she sent into those Parts; and she knows the Orders of our Admirals, to sink, burn, and destroy, any other Fleet she shall venture to send out again; yet she has been obliged to pocket every one of these Affronts: If our Naval Dignity is not restored by these Actions, what can restore it? and if these Things cannot be denied to be true, as they cannot be, what Impudence, and what Wickedness must it be to villify the present Government, to poison and deceive the ignorant and unwary Multitude, with perpetual Din, of the low contemptible Condition to which we are
said

said to be reduced? It is a Shame to suffer ourselves to be abused in this gross Manner; the Leaders of the *Faction* themselves laugh at the Folly and Delusion of the People, that they have fooled to such a Point? They even now despise those Wretches who are thus seduced, and they themselves loath and detest the seditious Tools of which they now make their Use, and when they have served their Turn, will assuredly turn their Backs upon them: But let me return to say one Word upon our Conduct with Regard to *France*:--Let any Man look back upon the insolent and imperious Treatment, which towards the Close of the last Administration we have received from that Power. Let him then consider what we have since done, and let him answer, if he can, whether this Nation has received no Benefit by the late Change.--*France* has found, and proclaims it by her Conduct, whatever *we* may stupidly and ungratefully do at Home, that she trembles at the Power and the Measures of this Nation. If publick Contempt be publick Weakness, as it is with Nations known to be; what Applause is due to those, who have shifted that Contempt from themselves, and cast it upon the Enemy, and who have consequently procured that Weakness to *France*, which the former Minister had by twenty Years tame Administration with Pains procured for us; if there be any Sense left in this Nation, they must see all this; if there be any Honesty, they will confess it, let their private Views or Disappointments be what they will; if there be any Warmth of Heart, Love, or Regard, for the Honour, the Dignity, the Safety and Well-being of our Country, they will proclaim it in despite of Faction, popular Ferment, or any private Danger. The Maxim of *Tacitus*, however applied by him, will hold true with every State, *Majus famâ potentia quam sua vi nixa*: Great as the Power of *France* may be, it is the Fame, the Opinion of that Power, that has so long supported her in her ambitious Views, enabled her to trample upon the Rights and Liberties of all *Europe*, and to sport with the most sacred Ties of Truth and Faith of Treaties; it is this, that encouraged her, after so many solemn Declarations in the last *German War*, that she would acquire nothing, to grasp that mighty Acquisition of *Lorraine*; it was this, that induced her, in that perfidious manner, to violate her Engagements to the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which was the Condition of that Acquisition; it was this that terrified every Potentate in *Europe* into a Submission to all her Indignities, and into Non-Resistance under the Yoke she has imposed so long upon many Nations, and under the Prospect of the Chains she was forging for all the *European World*; is it not therefore a mighty Point, gained by this Nation, in the Space of

little

little more than one Year, to have reduced that over-bearing Power into this deficient State of Credit, and to have restored that Credit to ourselves, which was so totally lost?—It is not an empty Vanity, but a solid Benefit.—Can any Thing tend more, hereafter, to lighten the Expence of future Struggles for the Liberty of *Europe*, than this Reduction of the Credit of that Nation, and the Restoration of our own? Can any thing prevent so much the Occasion of taking up Arms, as that Discovery, which will induce all the Powers in *Europe* to be less afraid to do it against *France*? and can any thing give so great Weight to our Negotiations without Recourse to the Sword, as the general Opinion, that whenever we draw it, we are able to curb that Power: This Conduct visibly must have this fortunate Effect, that if it be unhappy for us to be reduced to the Necessity of engaging in Land-Wars upon the Continent, it will render that Necessity less frequent; if the Greatness of the Expence is grievous, and drains us of our Specie, it must make it less in future, as it must secure us more ready assistance and stronger Alliances, than if we wanted that *Fama potentiae*, and that Opinion, which by the Providence of God, and the Conduct of our Affairs has been now restored again.

Thus, by this Conduct, we have undeceived the World as to the Power of *France*; not that it is not great, which would be delusive; but that it is not *omnipotent and irresistible*: And thus we have in a short time gone far, not only to restore Things reduced both at Home and Abroad to an almost desperate Condition, but even turned the Errors of the former Administration to Advantage; which is visible in the highest Degree, by the Effects of our Conduct in the *Mediterranean* already mentioned.—Without all doubt, one of the most fatal and unhappy Measures of the late Administration was the neutral Conduct there (though, whether all Things considered, it was avoidable, is not perhaps so easily determined) by which the *Spanish* Armies were enabled to be landed safely in a Time of War, in Sight of our Squadrons, in *Italy*; and to form a Junction with the *French*; yet by the Vigilance since, the Neutrality of *Naples*, and the driving both Fleets into one Pound, we have enclosed all the Land Forces of *Spain* far from Home, and in great Measure out of the reach of all Recruits, Necessaries and Supplies; and we have our Padlock upon the greater Part of the Maritime Force of those two Powers, which would have harassed us exceedingly had they been in different Parts; kept us in perpetual Alarms, distressed our Trade; and so divided our naval Force, that notwithstanding our Superiority at Sea, we should have suffered many Inconveniencies, nay, even Danger from them, to our own Coasts,

Coasts, and some of our Settlements abroad.—It will yet have a farther Effect, it dispirits and brings down the haughty Spirit of that People, who are ever pressing for War, it discontents them with their own Administration; and if we can do it as effectually as their former Conduct has done it by us, *there need not be a greater Curse upon that Government, a greater Plague, a greater Obstruction to their Views, nor a surer Way to bring them to their Ruin.*

By the Advantage that we have made of our Fleets in those Seas, we have derived another great Advantage, for by temporising with the King of *Naples*, we have secured the Elector of *Saxony* and King of *Poland*, who, besides the Hazard of his own Dominions, has, by his Alliance with *that Prince*, his Interest to consider too, and who may be justly supposed to suffer some Weight in the Scale of his Determination, from a Reflection of the Condition to which his Daughter might be reduced, by any Rashness he might be guilty of, in this Conjunction.

By these providential Successes, which all the vile Sarcasms of Faction can never prevail, to have attributed to any other Cause than the manifest Revival of the *British* Spirit, directed, as it now is, the *French* were every where so foiled, that the *Austrians* were enabled to act upon the offensive, and to besiege *Prague*, where they confined no less than 24,000 of the best Troops of *France* for the whole Summer, with two Marshals of *France*, and prevented them with the rest of their broken Army, from receiving any Supplies, or from doing any considerable Mischief,—till, by the Necessities into which they were at length brought, the Court of *France* was compelled to withdraw the Army under the Command of the Marshal *Maillebois*, from the Circle of *Westphalia*, where 35,000 of their Troops had been employed to awe the Electorate of *Hanover* and the *Dutch* at the same time. This was one of the first Steps they took in the Beginning of their Attempts on *Germany*, and one of the wisest, as the Consequences of their Inability to continue it, have fully shewn.—By this they effected three great Ends; they diverted all the *Hanoverian* Forces from the Assistance of the general Cause; they awed the *Dutch*; they prevented the Conjunction of the Troops of *England*, and of *Austria*, in the *Low-Countries*, with those of *Hanover*, and those of both the former with the *Dutch*.—*Hanover* was not so much obliged, as compelled by Prudence to consent to a temporary Neutrality; for if they had hazarded the Event of War, they were inferior in number, and if they had defeated, that Body of Troops, which, as we have since seen, were intended to more important Purposes, had not only totally been rendered useless; but there could have been no Possibility

Possibility of composing afterwards that grand Army which was necessary to be composed, if we effectually intended to assist the Queen of *Hungary*, and to deal roundly with *France*, and which has since been composed, notwithstanding the positive Assertion of the *Faction*, that it could never be, to whom the Devil has owed a Shame, and has fairly paid them, by giving them the Lie in every one Point that they have advanced.

This Neutrality of *Hanover* having made so great a Noise, I must have Leave to say a Word or two upon it; (for though my present Purpose is not to defend the Measures of any Time precedent to the late Change, it is honest to do Justice to every Man, and not at all necessary to add more Errors than are due to the former Administration.) To speak fairly of it, however maliciously it has been made the Subject of Ridicule, it was the only Step that in that Circumstance could have been taken with any Prudence, from this known and general Principle, that you should never risque a Division of your Forces, if you can avoid it.—The Court of *England* considered the *Austrians*, *Hessians*, and the *English* in the *Netherlands*, together with the *Hanoverian* Troops, as one Army, dispersed in remote Quarters, but intended to be assembled, and to act together when conjoined; they were then capable of making a formidable Army, and might be able to act or undertake any Thing, and we had great Reason to believe, and received the strongest Assurances from the Leading Men in *Holland*, that when it was assembled, they would concur with a large additional Body of *Dutch* Troops;—if therefore the *Hanoverians* had acted singly, and been defeated singly, the other divided Corps of Troops had been of very little Use, and might have followed their Fate, and the *Dutch* Ministry would have never been able to have procured the Assent of the States, or to have engaged them in a Cause so hopeless, as it would have then appeared, when the Electorate of *Hanover* should have been reduced into the same Condition with *Bavaria*: This might very possibly have been the Case, and any Man, who has not been thoroughly drench'd with the Poison of the Times, must be sensible, how ruinous such an Event must have been, independent of any private Regard for those Dominions, to the common Cause of *Europe*.—Whoever is the least conversant in publick Affairs, or has even common Sense, must be able to judge of these Reasons, which were rendered infinitely stronger by this Circumstance, that they actually did, by their Neutrality all that Time, afford the House of *Austria* a most material Assistance, depriving the *French* and the *Bavarians* of so great a Force,—to which, under God, was owing the Preservation of the House of

Austria; for by this Means the happy Turn was effected in *Bavaria*, and that Superiority acquired to the Arms of the Queen of *Hungary*, which had this Neutrality been never made, and had this Body of Troops been joined to the *French* and *Imperial* Armies in *Bavaria* and *Bohemia*, they must have ruined her infallibly in one Campaign: While the twenty-six or twenty-eight thousand *Hanoverians* were upon their own Ground, they were a Match in the defensive Part for a greater Number, but if drawn from thence, they had been equal only to the Numbers, of which they actually did consist themselves.

So long therefore as the *French* continued upon the Confines of the Electorate of *Hanover*, there was neither Prudence or Necessity to act any other than a neutral Part; for by their Situation, and the Advantage of their own Country, it is demonstrable, that twenty-eight thousand answered the End of an actual Aid to the Queen of *Hungary* of 35000 Men.

But when the reduced Condition of the *French* obliged them to quit this Measure, it was necessary for us to change our Plan--the *Hanoverian* Troops, had they remain'd in the Electorate, were then of no longer Use. In such a Conjuncture, no honest Man in *Britain* would have wished, that so great a Body of the best Troops in *Europe*, which by good Fortune were under the Influence of this Nation, should be unemployed.--The Question therefore was, in what way they might be most advantageously employed,—some imagined, that it had been proper to have followed the *French* Army, and the wise Politicians of the *Faction* bellowed loudly against this Neglect of Policy, as they pretended it to be; but many invincible Reasons opposed themselves to this Advice; some time must have necessarily been spent in settling a Point, which was of so nice a Nature, both in our own Councils, and in those of the Imperial Court;—and by that time (tho' it was very short) the *French* Army had got a great way upon their intended March.—It was to be considered again, that the *Hanoverian* Troops could by no means follow with the same Expedition, that the others went;—they had no Magazines, the *French* had exhausted the Provisions, and though they had passed through the same Country, when fresh and unannoyed, yet even they, from want of previous Preparations, suffered much in their March, and dwindled greatly;—how much therefore more must those, who trod the same Ground after them, have suffered; how much must they have been delayed. The Season of the Year began to be advanced, and the Summer must have been consumed, before they could have reached the Enemy; who in all Probability must have effected (if it was to be effected) whatever they could have proposed,

proposed, before we could have come up with them.— Again, if the Enemy upon the Pursuit of the *Hanoverians* had turned short upon them, and waited in some strong Post, they might have engaged them to great Disadvantage, being superior in Number;—or they might have obliged them to stay and face them in a Country, that they had left behind them ruined;—they had the strong Town of *Egra* to befriend them, which the *Hanoverians* could not have neglected, nor have taken.—Thus the Effect of their March would have probably been fatal to that Body of Troops, who must have wintered far from home, in a ruined Country, liable to all the Inconvenience of a Winter's Campaign, and we should have put ourselves with a much smaller Force, and in a much more helpless Condition, near our Enemies, to have endured yet greater Hardships, than those, by which even their great Armies, injured by two Campaigns, and long before provided for the Event, have been in a manner mouldered into nothing.—Yet even this Risque would have been run, if it had been insisted upon by the *Austrian* Ministers, with whom we acted with the strictest Harmony.—We laid before them all these Ill-conveniences, and the irretrievable Prejudice, that an Accident to this Body of Troops must have occasioned in the next Year's Operations.—The Impossibility in that Case, of bringing into the Field, or forming a sufficient Army, to deal with that Force, that might be brought against us by the *French*:—That our *English* Troops, (which were not even then all landed) and the *Austrians*, in the *Netherlands*, were too remote to join the *Hanoverians* in any reasonable Time, had they set out upon that March immediately; that they were not yet accustomed and hardened to the Fatigues of War, and must therefore have been intirely ruined by such a March, at such a Distance, and at such a Season of the Year; that if it were possible, by the Means of the difficult Passes in the Mountains of *Bohemia*, by withdrawing the Troops from *Prague*, (leaving a sufficient Number to form a distant Blockade, and to distress the Garrison,) to prevent the Junction of the two *French* Armies, *Prague* must fall of Course, the *French* must be disheartened and confounded by their Disappointment, and both their Armies suffer terribly, as they always did in the following Winter; while the Armies of the Allies united, much more numerous, strong and vigorous, might enter into Action fresh, and with infinite Weight in the ensuing Spring.—These Reasons had their just Effect, they were proved solid by the Event.—The *English* Councils directed the *Austrian* Operations upon this Occasion, and they felt the happy Consequence.—The Army of *Maillebois* never could penetrate through the Passes of *Bohe-*

mia; but there involved, were miserably butchered and destroyed, by Sword and Famine;--while the Garrison of *Prague* were reduced in prodigious Numbers, by vain Attempts to escape, their Parties continually cut off, and their Provisions and Supplies so effectually obstructed, that they were at length necessitated in the severest Season of that cold Climate, and after the most insufferable Hardships, to abandon the Capital of *Bohemia*, and the whole Country, to their lawful Sovereign, (excepting *Egra*, on the extream Borders of it,) bringing off with them not 10,000 Effective Men, the miserable Remains of at least 30,000, who had triumphed in that Country in the Beginning of that Year.--But upon their Arrival, Diseases broke in upon them, and swept off so many, even of that small Number, and of the Army sent to bring them off, that they could not remain there, and must have perished for Want, if they had been still harassed by the *Austrians*.--In fine, they were reduced to such Distress, by a Series of Calamities, that lest it might be said, of two great Armies, amounting together to more than 70,000 Men, not one should live to return, the *French* Court recalled their shattered Remains, and of both, not more than 20,000 Men had the Felicity to see their Native Soil again; where the few that survived the incredible Fatigues they have undergone, brought back, rather Weakness to their Master, than Security to his Frontier, filling his wretched Subjects with Grief, Dejection of Spirit, Detestation of the Views of their ambitious Monarch, and Terror of the Miseries they have endured; which every Man, capable of bearing Arms, by the absolute Power of their Government, and the Distress of their Affairs, sees himself hourly in Danger to undergo.

Thus far we have seen how much Folly, Ignorance and Villany have concurred to misrepresent two important Points; the Neutrality of *Hanover*, and the Conduct of our New Councils in not marching after *Maillebois's* Army: To prosecute this Deduction of our Affairs during the last Interval of Parliament, we come now to shew the Part acted by our Administration upon the Removal of that Army: The Deliberations we have mentioned took up no more, as I remember, than three Weeks; and the Point being agreed between the Ministry of *Austria*, and our own, that the *Hanoverian Forces* should not follow, the next Step was obvious: If our own Reason could not have shewn it to us, it was dictated and pointed out by *France*; it was evident, as we have before observed, that the View of *France* in sending her Armies to the Frontiers of that Electorate was no other than to prevent the Junction of the *Hanoverian, Dutch, British* and *Austrian* Forces;

Forces; if that was so favourite a View, that she put herself to so vast a Charge for it, opiniatred that View so long, and submitted to all the Ill-Convenience of weakening her Armies in every other Part for it, would it have been excusable in us not to have profited by such a Lesson, and to have lost the Opportunity, which the Absence of that Army gave to form the necessary Conjunction of all our Forces;—the only Person, who could have Reason to demur upon the Point was the Elector of *Hanover* himself; who by detaching such a Body of his Troops, and breaking his Neutrality, left his Country exposed to some Hazard, that if the former Troops should change their Destination, or succeed in their Attempt, they might return to take a severe Revenge upon his Dominions with Impunity: When therefore his Majesty agreed to this Proposition, the Ministers of *England* could not have answered it to their Country, if they had not availed themselves of this Body of his Forces.

They therefore took 16,000 of these Troops into the *British* Pay; not, as it has been maliciously insinuated, in a Method contrary to the Constitution, and unknown before; but in a Method warranted by all former Examples both in the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Anne*, when in the Interval of Parliament it became necessary from any Event to hire Foreign Forces, the Business was concerted by the Crown, the Treaty for the Subsidy agreed, and the Estimates referred to Parliament; where the Liberty still remained entire to reject them: The same Method was pursued in this Instance, the Parliament had the Estimates laid before them, and might have refused to confirm the Measure, if it had appeared to them improper or unjust; so that of all the Debates that ever pass'd in Parliament, none ever violated more the Heart of every fair and honest Man, than that with Relation to these Troops; in which this Point was with equal Confidence and Malice urged to the most indecent Extremity, in Defiance of all Truth and Candour, and with a manifest View to impose upon the Understanding of Mankind; there was not a Man of the least Experience, who did not know that this was a Part of the known Prerogative exercised in innumerable Instances, and a Prerogative not like some others, which may be thought to have been a Relique of bad Times in Government, when the Constitution was less pure; or crept gradually in, when the Power of the Crown was strained too far, but a Prerogative founded upon the supreme Law of all Necessity, without which no Government could stand secure one Hour; for what must be the Condition of this Country, if in no Dilemma, no Exigence whatsoever, (and

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surely none was ever greater than that of which we are now speaking) during the Interval of Parliament, the Crown might exercise a Power of this Nature? What Opportunities in the most critical Conjunctions might be lost? what Ruin must our Armies be exposed to, in case of any signal Defeat abroad? But it is a Point too obvious to be longer insisted upon, and the Absurdity of denying it is equalled by nothing, but that of debating *one whole Day* to prove a Measure illegal and unparliamentary, and to condemn it because it had not the *Authority of Parliament*, which was *that very Day* submitted to the Judgment and Power of the House *whether it should be a Measure at all or no*.

But to shew farther how tender his Majesty was of exerting his Prerogative, beyond what the Necessity of our Situation required, his Majesty hinted it to his Parliament at the Close of the antecedent Sessions.—After speaking of the Supplies which had been already granted, *for the Support of the Queen of Hungary, and to restore and secure the Balance of Power, so particularly recommended by his Parliament*; he added farther, *And if it should become necessary for me to contract new Engagements, or to enter into farther Measures, I rely upon your Zeal and Perseverance, in so just a Cause, to make them good*.

When the Prince foresees that an Exigency may possibly arise, at a Period of Time in which he cannot possibly take the Council of his Parliament.—If in such an Exigency the Nature and the Practice of the Government permits him freely to take what Measures he may judge necessary for the Interests of his People, without any Form or previous Notice whatsoever, if yet that Prince reminds his Parliament of such a possible Contingency, instead of a Stretch of Prerogative, it must appear, to every candid Man, the strongest Mark of Tendernefs to the Privileges of his People, a manifest Inclination to decline the exercise of his Prerogative, and in fact, the greatest Condescension.—There is no Man of Candour, who will consider the Nature of the Thing, but must see, that the most open, most frank, most generous, and most respectful Conduct; next to the direct Request, *to be permitted to take the Measure, was to hint it to the Parliament, that it was intended to be taken*.

Now, that his Majesty could not, at that Time, lay this Scheme before his Parliament, is proved by the stubborn Evidence of Facts and Dates, which though misrepresented by the *Faction* upon every Turn, and concealed, when they don't serve their Purpose, cannot be totally denied.—It is confess'd, that this Measure might have been, in all Probability, intended before the Dissolution of the Parliament.—But could it be then resolved? In the Nature of the Thing, it could not, because it was

a Contingency, which could only happen if the *French* Army marched;—it may be said, that some Steps had been already made by *France*, that convinced the King and the Administration, that they intended to march;—if not, it is probable his Majesty would not have touched at all upon it.—But these Steps might have only been intended as a Feint, at least Accidents might have intervened to prevent the Execution of that Project.—Unless therefore his Majesty had been not only King of *Great Britain*, and Elector of *Hanover*, but King of *France* at the same Time, he could not have told his Parliament, that his Electoral Troops should march to join the National Troops of *England*, when this Measure depended upon an Event which was not in his Power, and which actually did not happen in a considerable Time, the Parliament rising upon the 15th of *July*, and the March of the *French* Troops not having taken Effect till several Weeks after. As therefore it was impossible to have communicated a Measure which in its Nature could not be then resolved, so must it have been an Absurdity, visible to all Mankind, to have told the Parliament, which was the same Thing as to have told *France*, and all the World what we intended to do in case they marched.—The Politicks of these Times are of a very extraordinary Nature, when the Government is not only pressed, from Day to Day, to discover, by Motions for Papers, every secret Transaction, every Negotiation, and Plan of Operations, even while they are still depending; but when we are to forestall the Measures of our Enemies, and to tell them, *Gentlemen, take Care what you do—if you do so, we will do so,—if you march from Hanover, we will certainly use that Opportunity to unite our Forces as soon as possible after you are gone.*

The Prudence of the Administration appeared likewise in the Time, the Place to which they marched, and in the Nature of this Bargain.—As to the Time, it had been Madness to have slipped this Opportunity, to form our Army, which might have afterwards been impossible; had we deferred it till the Spring, as some have taken great Pains to persuade the People we should have done, *France* might have taken such Measures, or such Events might have happened, as would have rendered it then impracticable;—again, (which would have been a Matter very near as fatal in its Consequence) the World might have been convinced, that it was never intended to be done at all; it was of the last Importance to shew the *Dutch* a powerful Support to induce them to engage as soon as possible. As to the Place, another Point of Importance was to give the *French* Alarms upon their own Frontier, to prevent their sending any

farther Force to *Germany*, or to prevent their assisting the Infant Don *Philip*, who was already very superior to the King of *Sardinia*; for which our National Troops were by no means alone sufficient : And it had its effect ; the Letters of *Van Hoeyshew*, that *France* did not slight those Measures, which our own People ridiculed. They have since discovered what the *Dutch* then thought, and what the *Dutch* have now publicly declared.-- The *French* encreased their Troops in *Flanders* with all the regular Troops they could draw together, and much of the Militia from the remotest Part of their Dominions ; they sent but faint and insufficient Succours into *Germany*, and none at all to the *Spanish* Army.—By the March of these Troops into *Flanders*, we had therefore visibly these several Advantages.-- First, That they were a great Encouragement to *Holland*.—Secondly, That they were a Security to the *Barrier*, and to the *Netherlands* in all Events.—Thirdly, That they created the most distant Diversion that could be made.—Fourthly, That, as far as possible, they prevented the Necessity of a Rupture, because *France* would not probably attempt to attack us there, unless compelled to it, as long as the *Dutch* had not yet acceded, and was yet obliged to prepare and arm in the same Degree, as not knowing how suddenly they might take the Resolution, which they were then inclined to, and have since resolved ; whereas, if they had marched to the *Rhine*, where our wise Politicians only thought they should have been employed, *France* would have been induced, either by Necessity, or Prudence, to have attacked us there, when only half our Force had been assembled, and at least we had been engaged precipitately into that Extremity, while there was yet a Possibility, that the Difficulties of the *French*, and encrease of our Ability and Success might have brought about a Termination to these Troubles. We reaped another Advantage from the good Quarters in those Provinces, which kept our Troops in better Health, and in more Convenience ; being in a plentiful Country, and in that of an Ally ; whereas we could have quartered no where else, without the greatest Inconvenience.-- We were there equally ready (considering the Season of the Year) to perform any Service that the present or future Exigencies should require ; besides the Difference of being united near to our own Country, where Supplies could be furnished with more Ease and Expedition ; and where all the Money, that was consumed, contributed, though indirectly, to assist the House of *Austria* ; as it enriched her Provinces, and enabled them to pay more punctually, and to furnish greater Sums to their Sovereign's Aid : Lastly, it enabled us to amuse the *French*, and gave us an Opportunity to pretend

a Design on *Dunkirk* ; which drew down a great Body of their Troops to the very greatest Distance, from whence they could annoy the Enemy : A Point so artfully conducted, that every other Power were serious at it but our own People.

As to the *Nature of the Bargain*, much has been said upon this Head, to prove it not only *bad*, but *criminal* in the highest Degree. In order to the setting this Matter in a clear Light, it is necessary to observe, that during the long War of 1702, great Numbers of Foreign Forces having been hired, the Method then pursued, and the Conditions then observed, have been the Rule by which we have gone ever since ; our subsidiary Treaties therefore run all upon the same Plan, and contain the same Conditions, that they did then ; (excepting in two or three Articles of a trivial Nature, which the Change of the universal Discipline and a particular Circumstance made it necessary to differ in, as we shall have Occasion to specify hereafter.) This Expence is constantly summed up in *three* Articles, — that of *Levy-Money* for the furnishing and compleating both Horse and Foot, that of the *Pay* of the Forces, and that of an *annual Subsidy* besides, in a certain Proportion, according to the Number of the Troops ; these three Articles of Levy-Money, the Pay of the Forces, and the Subsidy to the Prince, make the general Charge common to all the Forces, that we have hired for a Space of above forty Years : — This is the Bill always brought us in for mercenary Troops ; — *Not that any of these Articles is literally the Sum applied to the Account of the Charge of that Article, of which it bears the Title, but the Deficiency of the one is made up by the Exceedings of the other, and many Contingencies and Necessaries are accounted for under this Form ; upon the gross Amount of which, these Princes are enabled to make good their Engagements with us.* There is likewise another Condition, for they always tie us to a certain Number of Years, whether we want the Troops or not ; without which they would find no Account in their Bargain. — When the Conjuncture of Affairs obliged our Ministers to take the *Hanoverian* Forces into Pay, if they had had the mean Inclination to have paid their Court to his Majesty, they were warranted by all Precedents to have made their Bargain upon this Footing, as these Troops were in a Manner the only Troops we could have hired at that Time ; as they were as good as any in the World, as they were situated the most commodiously for our Service, and as they must have been useless to the common Cause and have been disbanded, if we had not paid them, his Majesty's Electoral Dominions, not being sufficient to maintain both them, and the other Troops he had raised in this critical

tical Situation of Affairs, especially with the great additional Charge of Marching : The Ministers therefore could have deserved no Censure, nay, might have even merited Applause, for taking a Measure, which would have been just, fair and equitable, and beneficial to this Country, even upon the common Foot of other mercenary Troops ; nor could this Nation have had any Title to have complained of his Majesty, if in his different Capacity, as Elector of *Hanover*, he had desired to be considered on the same Footing as any other *German Prince*.— But *his Majesty*, with a *Generosity*, for which he has met with a very *ungrateful* Return, declined these Pretensions, and to shew his own Zeal for the Service of the House of *Austria*, and his Desire to make the Burthen to *Great Britain* as light as possible, he consented to these Particulars, to which no other *German Prince* would have submitted, and which were both in present, *certainly*, and in prospect, *probably* a great Reduction of the Charge to this Nation ; for whereas in all other Treaties of this kind, part of the Sums stipulated are paid, and commence before the march of the Troops—He consented, that their Pay should commence only upon the very Day they began their March from *Hanover*, viz. the 31st of *August* 1742.-- He insisted upon no Terms, *as to the Time that we should pay them*, so that if the Troubles, in which we were involved, should have determined in the Space of *one Year only*, we were bound to keep them *no longer*,—a Circumstance that might very possibly have saved a *Million* of Money to this Nation, and which might have proved (if this was a Bargain of neat Profit to his Majesty, as these Incendiaries suggest) a Loss of as much to his Majesty, in his Electoral Capacity.-- Nor was this all ; but his Majesty entirely remitted that Article of *annual Subsidy*, which every other *German Prince* has done, now does, and ever will insist upon ; and which, according to the Proportion paid to the King of *Sweden*, as Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel* (who besides Levy-Money^a and the Pay of his Troops, receives an annual Subsidy of 33,000*l.* for only 6,000 of his Forces) his Majesty had been entitled for 16,000 of his Troops, to near a 100,000*l. per Annum* ; which Saving to this Nation, together with the other Particulars we have mentioned, make so vast a Difference between the Charge of these Troops, and those of any other we could have hired, that it is an Impudence beyond Example to have treated this Point in the Manner, that it has been treated by the *Faction*, as we shall shew hereafter.

^a See the Votes of the House of Commons, *April* 14, 1740.

But tho' it may not be strictly regular in Point of Time or the Order we have laid down, to take full Notice of the Proceedings of the *Faction* upon *this Head* (till we come to *the next*, viz. *their Conduct in the next Session of Parliament*) yet it will not be inconvenient to clear the Way, by removing the Rubbish of those Objections, with which they have flattered themselves, to cover the Malignity of their virulent Scandal upon this Measure, because this Scandal was of a Nature so uncommon, desperate and dangerous, that it will be greatly for the Advantage of the Publick to present it naked, stripped of that delusive Garb in which they have used so much wicked Art to dress it, and void of any other Matter that may divert the Publick from the full View and Contemplation of its Iniquity.

To proceed therefore; under this Head of the Nature of the Bargain for the *Hanoverian Troops*, it was objected, *that by taking these Troops into British Pay, before we marched into Germany, we paid full one half Year before we had Occasion for them.*--As to this, it has been already answered, that we might not have been able to have joined at all, if we had not done it when we did; it has been likewise shewn, how many other Advantages we both did reap, and expected justly to reap from it. By Parity of Reasoning, we should not have begun to embarque our National Troops for *Flanders*, till the Beginning of this Campaign.--And if Troops are not to be assembled, till the Moment they are to enter upon Action, or if an Administration is to be condemned for being in Readiness to act as soon as Circumstances will admit, or for not acting, before either Time, Circumstances, or the Season of the Year will give leave; and if an Army is expected to fight whenever it is in the Field, without regard to any Event or Situation of things, we have to deal with Politicians, whose Ignorance or Prejudice render them unworthy of any reasonable Answer.

Another Objection is to *the granting Levy Money for Troops already raised, and again, to the granting a greater Levy Money than is paid to other Foreign Troops.* As to the *first*, we have already given a sufficient Answer, by observing the Nature of all these Contracts, viz. *That no one of these Articles literally contains the Sum applied to the Charge of that Article of which it bears the Title; but the Deficiency of the one is made up by the Exceedings of the other, and many Contingencies, Necessaries, and extraordinary Expences, are accounted for under this Form; upon the gross Amount of which, and not otherwise, Foreign Princes can be enabled to afford their Troops to us at the Rate they do, and upon this Foot it was allowed lately to the Troops of Denmark.* As to the *Second*, the Levy Money of these Troops is in the same Proportion

Proportion with that of all others ; but the Sum was the larger, because the Body of Troops, hired in this Instance, consisted One-third of *Horse*, whereas in most of our other Contracts of this Nature, the *Horse* have usually amounted only to *One-sixth* ; and particularly in the Case of the *Danes* and *Hessians*, which lately were and now continue in our Service.

It has been again objected, that we *are charged with a new Article for the Officers of the Artillery* ; and it is true, that it is a new Article, but it is an Article which arises from an Improvement in the Military Discipline, and one of the most remarkable of any that have been made in modern Time. Every Regiment, in the Service of all the *German* Princes, carrying with them two Field Pieces, which they manage with a very extraordinary Address, firing incredibly often in one Minute ; and no Man can pretend to say, that it was not necessary to conform ourselves to the Discipline of the Age we live in, and to avail ourselves of any new Advantages in War, which might either give us a Superiority, or put us upon a Level with the Enemy.

We are accused again with making a bad Bargain in *charging the Exchange, by the Estimate laid before the House of Commons at the Rate of ten Guilders ten Stivers the Pound Sterling, which is supposed to be an Exchange of eight Stivers to our Disadvantage*, and an unnecessary Expence of 26,000*l.* But this was fully answered in Parliament, though all the Writers of the *Faction* made no Scruple to conceal it in their subsequent Productions.--

“ They were there told, that in the Nature of these Things,
 “ all Estimates must be formed upon some positive Rate of
 “ Exchange ; that this Rate was mentioned in the Estimate,
 “ because from the Variation of Exchange, it might have
 “ amounted to that, and to prevent a Deficiency if it should ;
 “ but that this Estimate did by no means fix the Rate of the
 “ Exchange, and that all Savings that arose or might arise
 “ upon that Head, were constantly, and would, according
 “ to ancient Custom, be certainly accounted for to Parli-
 “ ment”.-- This Objection therefore has no other Foundation
 than the Ignorance or Malice of the *Faction*.

It was likewise objected, that *in all Contracts of this Nature during the former War, there was a Deduction of Two and one-half per Cent. to be applied to the Uses of the War*, which amounted to 16,447*l.* and which was not deducted in this Contract.-- This Objection favours strongly of the Party from whence it comes,--they had been searching after Precedents from the Conduct of their *Faction* in the Reign of the late Queen *Anne*, when their Predecessors made no small Disturbance upon this Head, and when the same *Faction* attacked that great Man the Duke
 of

of *Marlborough* in Parliament for having taken this Deduction of two and one-half *per Cent.* from the Foreign Troops under his Command. In the Report of the Commissioners for taking, examining, and stating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom at that Time, which was intended as an Inquisition upon that General, they then insinuated this Abatement of Foreign Pay to be a Deduction for the Uses of the War: But the Nature of the thing was fully explained, such a Deduction has been always made and is made at this Time; but it neither then did, nor consequently does now, appear in any publick Account. It is a Sum first obtained by Consent of the allied Princes in the Reign of King *William*, in the Nature of a voluntary Tax upon their Subsidies afterwards continued in the Time of the Duke of *Marlborough*, and in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, always allowed by Warrant from the Crown to the General in Chief for procuring of Intelligence, and other secret Service, but never laid before Parliament in Diminution of any Estimate. Nothing more therefore need to be said to shew the Fallacy and Malevolence of his Objection, or to wipe off the Imputation of Excess in this Particular.

For a farther Aggravation, a Comparison was attempted to be drawn between the Charge of the Hanoverians hired in the late War in 1702, and those now taken into our Pay.--But no such Comparison can properly be made, because we have not the Materials for it,--the Dutch first took them into their Service, and they were afterwards turned over into our Pay.--The Dutch therefore paid the first Expences of Levy Money, &c. and unless we had Access to the Archives of that Republick, neither they nor we are qualified to ascertain this Point, though it is not reasonable to believe, that these Troops were then hired upon different Terms, than such as have always been a general Rule in cases of the same Nature.

The next Matter of Cavil was the extraordinary Charge of a Regiment of Hanoverian Guards, which being equal in Expence to twice their Number of common Men, is reckoned another Instance of exorbitant Expence. But, surely, there is no Man who will dispute this to be a proper Expence, when the Prince commands in Person, and he must be very much abandoned, who will think it decent to urge it now, when this Nation has so lately obtained so great and so manifest a Benefit from his Majesty's personal Appearance at the Head of our united Army.

The last Objection, which has made the greatest Noise, tho' it deserves the least Notice, is to the hiring of Hanoverian Forces at all upon any Terms. It is demanded, how an English Administration dare advise the Hire of Forces the most obnoxious, Forces that must create so great a Discontent, Forces that must
 establish

establish that dangerous Distinction of *Englishmen and Hanoverians*, and a Measure that must shake the Interest of his Majesty upon the Throne, and poison the Affections of his People?--But let us have the Liberty to put a few Questions to these Gentlemen in our Turn.--Could we have composed a sufficient Army without these Troops? Why is it more criminal to hire these Forces in the present War, than in that of Queen *Anne*, when we constantly entertained a great Body of them in our Pay without any Objection? What is it that has rendered these Forces now obnoxious which were never so before? What has created any Discontent upon this absolutely necessary Measure? What has established that dangerous Distinction of *Englishmen and Hanoverians*? What is it that has shaken the Interest of his Majesty, or poisoned the Affections of his People (*both* which have been indeed strongly endeavoured, but I thank God *neither* yet affected) no other Answer can be given to any of these Questions, but that there is in this Country at this Time, a Faction destitute of Principle and Shame, and void of all Remorse, who taking Advantage of the Ignorance and vulgar Prejudices of a heated People, have glaringly attempted, by fallacious Arguments, vile Misrepresentations, and downright Falshood, covered by a popular and confused Jargon of seditious Rhetorick, to gratify their Revenge, to advance their private Interests, and to promote their pernicious Views, at the Expence of sacred Truth, and Moral Virtue, at the Hazard of the Liberties of *Europe*, the Peace of their own Country, and the Security of a Prince and Family, upon whose Establishment the Constitution of these Kingdoms can alone depend.

We have now pretty fully gone through with a Deduction of the Measures taken by the Administration during the Interval of Parliament; we have explained the Nature and the Necessity of these Measures; we have shewn the Success, and almost miraculous Alteration in the Situation of our Affairs; which were visibly their Consequence. But whether they were the necessary Consequence of them or not---the Face of Affairs was in fact so wonderfully changed, that instead of that Prospect of almost inevitable Ruin, which appeared before our Eyes, in the Beginning of the previous Sessions of Parliament, there was, at least, a great Probability of saving the House of *Austria*, and of restraining the Ambition of *France* from profiting by her immense Expences, and the Labour she had taken, to move the whole Earth to the Destruction of the only Power, that stood between her and the virtual Possession of the Universal Empire.--Let us inculcate this happy Alteration by a second Recapitulation of it.

Saxony and *Prussia* were disjoined from the Alliance of *France*, and with Circumstances, that in a Manner secured us from a Possibility of their uniting with her again during the present Contention; *Bavaria* was not only incapable of affording any material Assistance to the Views of *France*, but actually a considerable Part of it in Possession of the *Austrians*, two great *French* Armies of veteran Troops totally destroyed; Diseases and Despair, the visible Companions of the remaining Forces of the Emperor and *France*, inferior to the *Austrians*, who were now flush'd with Success, enrich'd with Plunder, enured to Arms and Victory: These remaining Forces coup'd up in a Corner of *Bavaria* and *Bohemia*, in the utmost Distress for Provisions, not to be recruited till the Spring; and then, from the vast Losses of the regular Troops of *France*, only by new Levies of a raw and disheartened People, forced, driven and pressed into the Service, with the most manifest Dread and Terror of it; the *French* Government, detested and despised by its own People, for its ill Success and ruinous Measures; the Queen of *Bohemia* repossessed of the greatest Part of her Dominions: and of a Treasure inestimable, the united Hearts of all her Subjects, moved to the utmost Degree of Tendernefs by her Danger and the Injustice of her Enemies, warmed with the most fervent Zeal, by her gallant, firm and prudent Conduct; the King of *Sardinia*, steady to his Engagements, and infinitely serviceable to the Common Cause; the *Spaniards* check'd, foil'd and disappointed in all their *Italian* Views; the King of *Naples* bridled by our Fleets; the *Swedes* confounded by *French* Councils, and by the just Arms of *Russia*; courting the Mediation of *Great-Britain* for their Preservation, who but the Year before had been led by *France* to disturb the Peace of the *North*, in Contempt of *Britain*, and probably not without a remote View to her Destruction; the *Dutch* potently armed, visibly able, and secretly inclined to join us in the Quarrel; a very great Army in the *British* Pay of the best Troops in *Europe*; fresh and ready to enter into Action, whenever Necessity should require; the *Turks* incapable of being moved by *France*, thinking of nothing but their own Preservation against the Attempts of *Persia*:--These were the happy Circumstances into which, by the Providence of God, and the Prudence of the Administration, our Affairs were brought, when his Majesty opened his Parliament upon the 16th of *November* last.

We now come to the next Head of our Discourse, the Conduct of the Faction at the next Meeting of the Parliament--They, who had been longest in an Opposition, and had conducted it, and knew the most of it, even they were unable to conceive in what

what manner their former Collegues could behave, upon what Footing they could oppose the Support of Measures so lately popular, conducted with so much Judgment and Vigour, and attended with such providential Success; or thwart the Prosecution of his Majesty's further Views to take advantage of this happy Change: They knew indeed the Men by long Experience, they were well acquainted with their Views, and that they would stick at nothing to obtain that Share in the Emoluments of Power, which their Madness had so lately deprived them of; but they were at a Loss to comprehend how they would betake themselves to screen their Views from the Detection of the People, without whose Assistance they could do nothing; a People brave and honest, endued with more Understanding too, with more Lights and Knowledge from the Nature of our Government than any other People in the World, and in general never wrong, but when seduced by *Fraud*, or heated by *Passions*; the Success appeared too notorious to admit of those *Frauds*, without Misrepresentations too gross to be even supposed; and the Grounds of those *Passions* had been too justly removed, in all Instances, that it was practicable to be done; it was therefore thought impossible, that any such Attempt would meet with the least Encouragement, since the *previous Step* must be to eradicate the old Principle upon which the Safety of this Nation has ever depended; which it has never departed from without Shame and Misfortune; and which the People ever recurred to again, however temporarily seduced, viz. *that this Nation must eternally oppose the Advancement of the Monarchy of France.*

The *Faction* saw all this, and considered their Game at first as desperate, but their very Despair obliged them to persist--- they knew that Opposition never could want some Allies from such as had been duped by them, and knew not how to retreat, and from such as, by the same Errors, were in the same desperate Condition with themselves, from such as were avowed *Jacobites*, and such as were of beggarly Circumstances, who had a Possibility of bettering themselves by the Confusion of their Country, which though far short of a Probability, was yet better than a Certainty of *Ruin* and a *Goal*, which stared them in the Face.

They had a farther Dependence upon the Liberty of the Press, which is always a mighty Engine, of equal Use to *Liberty* and *Faction*, they took Advantage from the Knowledge that the Ministers they now opposed were tender of it, and knowing this, they thought themselves secure in the most monstrous Abuse of it that was ever known in any Age or Nation.--- A Use which their former Leaders, when it was under their Dis-

rection,

rection, never put it to themselves, in the same degree, *nor pointed at the Mark, at which it has been since wickedly levelled.*

—This was the Spring by which they proposed to set the whole Machine in Motion, and by this they depended to retail Scurillity and Treason with Impunity (for Argument they had none) upon a wretched Set of People, who with Education just sufficient *to enable them to read*, spend all their leisure Time, and sometimes more than they have conveniently to spare from behind the Counter, in some blind Coffee-house, and thence retiring to their Tavern Assemblies, retail it out again, to Men still below them in this *great Qualification*; where, to shew that they understand the true Spirit of every libellous Production, they enter into all its Sentiments, and become, in their own great Opinions, and in the Opinions of their Auditors, after a little Habit in this Way, consummate Politicians, judging of the Interests of all States and Kingdoms, and of all Ministers and Princes, as well as of their own, whom they constantly take for granted to be the worst of all, and the sole Authors of every Calamity and Disorder of the whole World.

With these *Troops*, and with this *Artillery of Faction*, they still thought themselves enabled to take the Field. —They had, it is true, seen all Squadrons of Opposition intermixed with Bodies of these, but never led by such Generals, nor consisting of these Troops alone: However, trusting in their Numbers, and depending upon their Noise, which, though it would produce no Argument from their own Quarter, prevented those that came from another, from being heard, they commenced the second Campaign, confiding more in the Division of their Enemy, than in their own Strength, and trusting that some unfortunate Events, or some unhappy Errors, might, in Time, afford them better Colours, than (in spite of all the Varnish they could put upon it) their Cause would for the present bear.

Of late Years, by the vast Encrease of Trade, and the Custom of living in the Capital, for the greatest Part of the Year, *London* and *Westminster* had vastly encreased; —all great Cities are the Seat both of *Liberty* and *Faction*, —in Proportion to their Numbers and their Wealth, their Abilities either to defend the one, or to exert the other, encrease. —For the Means of one, and of the other, are the same, and they differ only in the Extent to which they are carried, and in the Lengths they go. —From this Encrease it was, that the late Opposition derived its Force, and it was by the Influence of these two Cities, in great measure, that they routed the late Administration —*Westminster* had in a particular Manner exerted itself to maintain its Freedom

of Election, which had been, with unaccountable Imprudence, invaded with very strong and odious Circumstances at their Choice of Members for the present Parliament.—The Administration still, with greater Rashness, were determined, if they could, to make this irregular Election stand, which so must offended all, as well violent as moderate Men, that there arose a Conjunction of all Interests, and of all Principles, which created an Opposition so formidable; that it was not to be resisted, and such as, it is hoped, there will never be the same Occasion to see again.—The Justice of the Cause, and the Consequence of its Issue to the People, made Men exert themselves with an uncommon Spirit, and caused them to appear in vast Numbers, and in very frequent Assemblies; by which Men of all Tempers became acquainted, who would otherwise never have known each other.—The most warm and violent consorted together, who, when they had carried their Point, and found the Sweets of Victory, (from a kind of Turn natural to that Order of Mankind, and to Persons of such a Disposition) knew no longer how to confine themselves within their own proper Sphere, and thought themselves equally qualified and equally entitled to direct the Nation, as to conduct their own Election. Thus when the *Moderate* and *Wise*, contented with having done their Duty, and carried the only Point with which they were intitled to interfere, retired peaceable to reap the Fruits of an Event, which produced many other beneficial Consequences to their Country: *These*, though a mere *Handful*, strengthening themselves with Numbers who had no Right to vote, and laying hold of every Man they could draw in, still continued to maintain the Shadow of their former Meetings. These Persons were the first applied to by the *Faction*, and assuming the Title of a numerous, powerful, and worthy Set of Men, who had lately made so great a Noise in the World, under the Style of the *Independant Inhabitants of Westminster*, were, in Conjunction with proper Instruments in the City of *London*, to take the Lead, and to set the Example to all the other Cities and Corporations of the Kingdom. Through this Canal, the Ice was to be broken to the People in general, and Instructions were drawn up, in which three or four were out of Form consulted, and which about *four score* out of 16,000 Electors in *Westminster*, and *two or three hundred* out of 6000 Liverymen in *London*, sanctified with their Approbation.—These being published in the printed Papers, were, with Diligence and Expedition, sent into the Country, as the Sense of this great Metropolis, to be thence taken for the Voice of the whole People of *England*; and for *Fear*, notwithstanding this Suggestion, that the People in the Country

Country would not sufficiently resent it, if their Representatives did not literally conform themselves to this pretended Sense of the whole good People of *England*; they published a Pamphlet, to convince them, that it was the Duty of every Member of Parliament, to vote in every Instance as his Constituents should direct him in the House of Commons,—a Thing in the highest Degree absurd; for *it is the constant and allowed Principle of our Constitution, that no Man, after he is chosen, is to consider himself as a Member for any particular Place, but as a Representative for the whole Nation.*—without which there could neither be Freedom of Judgment, or Speech, without which all Debate must be entirely unnecessary, and without which the Legislature would be torn with Faction, Nonsense; and Contrariety of Interests, to a degree of Confusion that must destroy all Government.—Hence it is that Parliaments have never allowed the Right of Instructing to lie in the People; and it has accordingly been a Practice, which introduced first in the Times of the great *Rebellion*, has never been exercised but in Times that threatened *the same Confusion*.

Yet when these Instructions appeared, they were far from answering the first End of inducing all others to follow their Example. Some few Corporations did it; but no Endeavours of the Faction could extend it far: Nay, some addressed their Members, and particularly *Bristol*, the third City in the Kingdom, in direct Opposition to them; nor is it to be wondered at, for the Instructions from *London* were not only a direct and scurrilous Libel upon the Administration, but the most seditious Instrument, that ever was penn'd, and very little short of Treason both against the King and Constitution. Those of *Westminster* were less fruitful in personal Abuse, which they hinted only, that they kept in Reserve till they saw whether their Ideas were complied with; in many other Respects they went as far, and in some, *viz.* with Respect to the Constitution, still farther than the City of *London* itself.

The distinguished Points of these ever memorable Performances may be reduced to the following Heads, 1st, the *Abuse of Persons* without the least Reserve or Decency: 2^{dly}, The *Place-Bill*: 3^{dly}, The *Triennial Law*: 4^{thly}, *Justice* upon the Earl of *Orford*: 5^{thly}, *Granting no Supplies* till the 2^d, 3^d, and 4th Points here mentioned were complied with.

Now if every one of these Points be duly considered we can be at no Loss to discover what their View was, and from what Quarter their Instructions came.—With regard to the first, as I have observed before, *the Abuse of Persons* was the Fort of the Faction in all former Opposition; but as they were very

sensible that to answer any View by it, they must carry it to a greater Excess; and to do it with greater Injustice and Confidence than was ever done before, it was very prudent to be able to quote for their Example, *what they termed the Sense of the whole Nation.*—As to the second Article, the *Place-Bill*, they knew no wise Government would think it prudent to strengthen the popular Interest in such a Time of Inflammation; that therefore King, Lords and Commons would refuse to pass it, as they had the more Reason to do, a Bill of the same Nature very considerable in its Consequences (though misrepresented grossly) having passed in the last Sessions. As to the *Triennial Law*, they were sure that could not be obtained, because they knew there were not ten Men seriously for it, in the whole Parliament, and their most flaming Patriots had declared and voted against it in the last Sessions. As to *what they called Justice* upon the Earl of *Orford*, they knew that they had already by their own Conduct put it out of the Power of any Set of Men to effect it; which was the Reason that in Truth they insisted upon these three last mentioned Points; being sure from thence, though Things fell out the best for this Nation, and the worst for them, never to want Ground and Pretence for Opposition, and for a seeming Justification of the *grand Point of all, the distressing of Government, by granting no Money to the Crown*; which without this Address and these Arts, the People would have looked upon them, not as Patriots, but as Monsters and Madmen, in the then critical Situation of Affairs, to have opposed, when *the Ballance of Power*, that Point with Justice so much favoured at all Times by this Country, lay at an immediate Stake.

It was by thus heating the Minds of the People, and by setting them in a vain Dispute, that they endeavoured to bring the Nation off from the true Scent, and to pave the Way for the Revival of their *Tory* Principles again:—By inculcating these popular Points, and spreading a certain general Maxim very fallaciously applied, that *It was of no Consequence what became of the Liberties of Europe, if we did not first secure our Liberties at Home*, they disguised their Attempts of destroying both the one and the other.

The *Faction* having now no means to gain upon the Reason, sought only to depend upon the Madness of the People, and having laid a Foundation by *these Instructions* before mentioned, upon the first Opening of the Sessions, opposed the Address to his Majesty in Return for his Speech from the Throne, in which were enumerated several of those Advantages, which called so loudly for the Gratitude of this Nation both to God and

Man;

Man; but they discovered no Temper of that kind to either: Nay, as if the Sense and Memory of all their Auditors had been totally lost, they disclaimed against the present State of things, as if equally bad and desperate, with that out of which we had so happily escaped, retailing by rote the same Imputations to the present Conduct, and the same Reflections upon the present State of our Affairs, as they had learned of their Leaders before, when the Situation of the Affairs was totally the reverse: Notwithstanding the visible Importance of convincing the World abroad in this critical Conjunction, (especially after the great Confusion of this Country and the Change of the Ministry) that the Publick were united to support the Common Cause; though it is well known, as an able Foreigner observes, *que sur tout depuis le Commencement de ce Siecle, les Harangues des Rois de la Grande Bretagne à l'ouverture du Parlement sont consideres comme des Espees à Oracles touchant la Situation generale des Affaires de l'Europe**:—And though whoever has travelled abroad is sensible how the Expectations of all Nations are raised or depressed according to the Sentiments expressed from the Throne, and according to the Reception of the King's Speech in the first Debate of Parliament; it was in vain to reason from hence, that what gained Credit with all Nations, ought to meet with some Respect at home.—That the Consequences of not corresponding with the Sentiments of the Crown, must either be a Suggestion of Falshood in his Majesty, or of Ignorance or Madness in our selves; that in such a Situation this must throw Things back again into all the first Confusion—that any Coldness expressed in such an extraordinary Conjunction, must convince the World, that a second Revolution of our Administration was to follow,—that as the Confidence arising in all our natural Allies, and Dejection in our Enemies, proceeded only from the Prospect of the Change of Measures consequential to it, both would infallibly be defeated by a Prospect of the Discontinuance of that Administration.—That these Reflections must convert the Confidence of the one into Despair, the Dejection of the other into Confidence,—that this must infallibly induce the King of *Sardinia* to listen to the Invitations of Advantage thrown in his Way by *France* and *Spain*; intimidate the *Dutch* from entering into Engagements with us; compel the House of *Austria* to submit immediately to any Terms which *France* should impose, and irrecoverably sacrifice all *Europe* to be cantoned out at the Will of that imperious Power; induce *Prussia* and *Saxony*, who had just receded from that Confedera-

* *Rousset*. Vol. III. fol. 327.

cy, to pursue new Views of Advantage to themselves, at the Expence of that distressed Princess; sacrifice all the Sums already expended in this Cause, and totally defeat all the Views, we now so reasonably entertained, of restoring the Balance of Power. In fine, that it would inevitably drive us back into the Steps of the last Administration, which even the *Faction* still affected to condemn and punish.—All this had no Effect; these Arguments could have no Effect on Men, who had Views to which they bore no Relation, and who, by their original Principles, wished secretly the very Thing that others, by their Reasoning, endeavoured to prevent; at last the Sense of the House being taken by a Division, it appeared, not less to the Amazement of themselves, than to that of all honest Men, that so many were of their own Principles, so many defeated in their Expectations, so many fettered in Apprehensions of the Popular Spirit of the Time, the Hazard of their future Elections, the Fear of Personal Abuse, the mistaken Shame of deserting what they called their Party, (though they knew them in the wrong, and wished to be out of the Enchantment) so many deluded by the specious Pretence of imaginary or irremediable Grievances, and so many weak and deluded Men, that they were joined by a very great Number.

This Degree of Success elated them so far, that they gave a Vent to all their Rage and Malice against every one, who had differed from them in this Vote;—painted it out to the People in every Colour of Inconsistency;—they had treated those, who acted with the former Administration, for twenty Years past, without Mercy, as the greatest Villains for entertaining for a Principle, *that they should vote with their Party in all Questions whatsoever, right or wrong, and that Party could be no otherwise maintained*: Yet, as much as they had condemned this Principle a little while before, they made no Scruple to adopt it now, and for this single Vote, branded every Man, who gave it, at once, as a Deserter of the Cause of his Country, exerting every low, mean and infamous Art, to injure, blacken, and defame him.

The *Faction* now observing, that they were abetted, not only without Doors, but within, by a larger Body of People than they could have at first imagined, determined in the next Instance, without Reserve, to try how far that Delusion had extended, and could support them.—When therefore the Estimates for the 16,000 *British* Troops in *Flanders* came to be considered, they opposed, with the utmost Vehemence, the granting the Supply for this Service, insisting upon their being recalled home, and disbanded;—and now they began to appear in their full Colour the Men they were; they not only trod in the Steps of their Predecessors

deceffors in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, King *William*, and Queen *Anne*, but they travelled that Pace, which none of them had gone before.—None had ever fo openly avowed the Views of leaving the whole World to the Mercy of *France*: No *Engliſhman* before could have dared to make a Proposition of this Nature, when our Armies were actually united in the Field, and *France* bending its utmoſt Force to the Ruin of our moſt potent and conſtant Ally abroad.—Even in that infamous Scene in the Reign of the Queen, they were contented, for the firſt Step, to agree to a Ceſſation of Arms, and to ſeparate from their Allies:—They made a Peace, ſuch as it was, before they brought back a ſingle Regiment;—they had then the Pretence of ſome Conceſſions from *France*. ſmall as they were, compared with the Advantages in our Power at that Time to have procured;—they had the Plea of a dangerous Inter-eſt that the General acquired in the Army, and of ambitious Views, in a great Subject, which a Princeſs, *the laſt of her Race*, had no Ability to contend with;—they had Pretences, from the immense Sums which had been already expended upon the War, and which People naturally wiſhed to be eaſed from, almoſt at any Rate;—they had even ſome Shew of Conſiſtency in their Conduct; for they had been long at work to obſtruct and oppoſe the Continuance of it.—But for theſe People, all Appearance of Reaſon and Conſiſtency was as remote to juſtify them in what they did, as their Deſign was manifeſt to ruin the Inter-eſt, to pervert the Principles, to inſult the Underſtandings, and abuſe the Weakneſs of their Countrymen.

We can never recur too often to this Point, that whoever knows the Hiſtory of this Government, can judge of its Inter-eſts and its Dangers, muſt know, that it has been, and muſt ever be, the conſtant Principle of Politicks, by which this Nation muſt be ever governed.—To keep down the Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, that if ſhe now acquires ever ſo little an Addition to it, *In its Conſequences, the Trade, the Liberty, the Religion, the Independency of this Nation, will be inevitably undone*—That to prevent this Power from Encreaſe, we muſt ſupport ſome great Power on the Continent, capable to ſtand for a Time, till Confederacies may be formed againſt her;—that for Ages paſt, and ſtill at this Hour, no other Power is in any Degree equal (or capable in any reaſonable Proſpect of Time to be made equal) to that Task, but that of the Houſe of *Auſtria*.—And that therefore the Sum of all the Politicks of this Nation is to ſupport by all the Means in our Power, the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

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The Nation has so long seen the Force of these Maxims, has suffered so much from our temporary Departure from them, and insensibly advanced into so manifest Danger, by every Relaxation from these Principles, that there was not a single Man, who did not profess them, and upon this was grounded that universal Clamour against the late Administration. The Author of that worst and most malicious Libel that ever was published, entitled, *The Case of the Hanover Troops*, himself confesses, that the universal Dissatisfaction of that Time was principally owing to this weak, and, as he adds, wicked Conduct of our Foreign Affairs, and Neglect of these Principles. I may say more, there was not a single Man of this Nation, who was not fully convinced, that they were true, though some were sorry for their private Views against the Government, that they should be pursued, for no other Reason, than that they knew them to be true:—And therefore, upon the late Change of the Administration; it was resolved, by the almost universal Sense of the whole Nation, notwithstanding the first impotent Attempt of these Gentlemen to prevent it, that these 16,000 National Troops should be sent into *Flanders*.—When this was done, however, the Affairs of the Queen of *Hungary* had already providentially begun to mend, by a fortunate Winter's Campaign, and our Spirits were a little raised, by seeing her Ruin a little protracted.—Yet it was then evident, that these 16,000 Men were far from being able alone to prevent that Ruin. Had the Nation therefore been ripened enough into a fatal Distraction, much more might have been *then* urged, with greater Plausibility, against this first Step, than against the Continuance of it, after it had been made.—The Prospect of being able to compose an Army, sufficient to act against *France*, was then in some Degree precarious and remote: It might have been, (as it has been since) urged, that this could only operate by way of a Diversion;—and hardly that, because the *French* could not fear Hostilities from such an handful of Men;—yet, I say, the Measure was even then approved by the almost universal Sense of this Nation,—as it was a Beginning, as it maintained the Faith of Treaties, as it was a Pledge of the future Intentions of this Country, and a Proof of our Change of Politicks, and as it was a Root and a Foundation for other Troops to be gathered to, as Time or Incidents, or the common Danger might induce;—and as it was conformable with an established Rule of Politicks, *that he that gains Time, gains every thing*.

The Sense therefore of these fundamental Principles induced, in a manner, the whole Nation to be willing, at a time when, two of the greatest Powers in *Germany* were embarked, and in
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the Field, in Conjunction with *France*, against the Queen of *Hungary*,—at a Time, when *Hanover* and the *Dutch*, were both awed by a great *French* Army; and when no certain or immediate Prospect appeared, of Assistance on any Side, but from the House of *Savoy* in *Italy*, to adventure this Experiment, an Experiment of 6 or 700,000*l*. They thought every thing was to be tried in such Extremities, and no Expence to be considered, where the *Trade*, the *Liberty*, the *Religion* and *Independency* of this Nation, were visibly at Stake.

How then could this scandalous Opposition to the Continuance of this Measure be swallowed by the Publick in the very next Year, when the Face of our Affairs was changed in so wonderful a manner in our Favour, when *Prussia* and *Saxony* had desisted from being Enemies to the House of *Austria*, when the *French* Armies had been so greatly diminished, when the Queen of *Hungary* had almost cleared her whole Dominions from the Enemy, when the *Dutch* and *Hanover* were no longer awed by *France*, when instead of a naked Body of 16,000 Men, by the Junction of *Hessians*, *Hanoverians* and *Austrians*, we had actually an Army collected in one Body of 50,000 Men: The Answer to this Question is easily made, the Ardour of the Nation had, by infamous Arts been converted into the Heat of a *Faction*; Opposition, which was before conducted by *Whig* Principles, was now led by Incendiaries and *Jacobites*; who never did, nor ever will lead the People but to Measures inconsistent with their Interests and Safety.

But though the Wicked abound in this and in all other Countries, yet they are never numerous enough alone to attempt the Ruin of their Country, they must have a vast Accession of the Honest to assist them, and they must impose upon their Weakness to abet their Views; they must have some Pretences to prevail upon them;—Let us now consider what these Pretences were.

They first began tenderly to insinuate that our first Principles of Policy however long maintain'd, were in themselves erroneous; and that considering the former immense Expences of this Nation, the little Fruit that we had reaped from them, and the Probability of being still from Time to Time engaged in new Quarrels, it was fit to be considered, whether it was not proper to enter upon a new System; that it was visible we could never make any Acquisitions upon the Continent to reimburse our Expences; and that we therefore consumed ourselves only for the Benefit of other Powers; that our Navy was a sufficient Protection for us against the whole World; that the regular Troops, which these Views obliged us to maintain, would
prove

prove the Ruin of our Liberties; and the vast Taxes produce the Ruin of our Trade; so that it was thrown out as a Doubt fit for the Nation to consider, whether it was not better to leave the rest of the World to shift for itself as well as it could, and to entrench within our own natural Boundaries, take our Chance, and defend ourselves the best we could. They were obliged to venture thus to shake the established Principles that they might afterwards debauch the Understandings of the People, in which they proceeded exactly upon the Plan of their Brother Politicians, the *Jesuits* and the Church of *Rome*, who begin all their Practices on those they mean to seduce, by raising Doubts as to the Fundamentals of their Faith, which, when once departed from, expose their unwary Pupils to be driven from one Point to another, till they at last resign their Senses to their insidious Guides; these Political Seducers could not have failed to learn the Crafts of a Set of People of whom they followed the Views, and like those by whom they had been taught their Lesson; they applied these Insinuations with great Caution at the first, and only upon such Objects as by the Weakness of their Understandings were too dull of Apprehension to detect their Views, and who by their Ignorance could not be able to know, that these were the constant Practices of the *Jacobites*, *Enemies* of their Country and *Friends* of France upon all Occasions.

There is always much Ignorance and much Weakness in the Bulk of Mankind, so that they were not long before they found their Effect in this secret Management; and they were further assisted by a certain Temper, which every thinking Man must have observed in human Nature of the lower Clafs, *that they delight in any thing that is new, and in the marvellous*: these Refinements upon our Policy were strange to them; and they admired at the Sagacity of those, who had struck out those new Lights; which they were proud to appear the Inventors of, or at least, to shew their superior Judgment in comprehending as soon as hinted, and to display this superior Sagacity, farther inculcated all these Doctrines, upon the common People, who are always prone to relish a Discovery, which promises a Reduction of their Taxes, and of an Army.

But alas! how shallow are the Understandings of these Men, who can be imposed upon by this superficial Reasoning? Can the Wisdom of this Age entertain the Vanity to think, that their Ancestors have for seven hundred Years persisted in an Error, which the bright Genius of the enlightened Vulgar now have discovered to be such? shall every Cobler in his Stall pretend a
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Knowledge of political Affairs, superior to that of the best, the wisest, the greatest Men of this and all former Ages, whom their Education, and whole Turn of Life have adapted and dedicated wholly to the Study of Politicks and Government? What ridiculous Vanity is this? and what Folly, to imagine that Men, who have no Interest in the State, but the Profits of their daily Labour, should be more anxious for the Well-being of their Country, than those who have vast Properties to take Care of; who really feel the Burthens, which are but imaginary upon the rest (because in the Nature of things they cast off the Load of all publick Charges from themselves upon the Rich, by an Advance both in the Price of their Commodities and Labour,) and who alone sustain all the Taxes of the Nation? Whose Lands are saddled directly or indirectly with the whole Expence; who, if Ruin falls upon their Country, must, by Forfeitures and Confiscations lose their Estates, their Titles, and perhaps their Lives, while these, living by the natural Occasions of all Mankind, must still be necessary to every State, transform it how you will, must be from that Necessity preserved, and carry with them, through all Disasters of their Country, a certain Method of Subsistence. Shall this Order of the People, from the false Oratory, and Declamations of a few seditious Leaders, be persuaded to oppose their new-fangled Sentiments to such Men as these, presume to set up for Leaders of Political Opinions, and by a few Instances of temporary Neglect in great Men, (warped perhaps on some Occasions from their Duty to their Country, by the Allurements of great Offices in the State,—or misled into the Support of wrong Measures for a time) be carried away, to think their Affairs more safe under the Direction of Men of desperate Fortunes, low Rank, and even of the very Commonality themselves;—or because all the Instances of frantick Management in Princes, have been collected together, to make a Bundle of Infamy against Government by Monarchy, and to expose the Errors and Wickedness of some crowned Heads;—are they to conclude from these partial Informations, that Monarchy is no longer to be endured, or trusted with any Degree of Power, however legally entitled to it by the Constitution of their Country!—and that neither the Prince, who derives his Glory from the Greatness of his People, his Security and Affluence from their Prosperity, nor the Nobility, whose Titles and Estates depend upon the same Source, are proper Judges of the Interest of the Publick, while they deem themselves the only knowing, wise, and honest Politicians of the World.

Again,

Again,—Will this Nation be seduced to such a Point as not to see, that neither this, nor any other in the World can stand alone, and without Allies?—That Maritime Power is precarious, necessarily divided often, and capable of changing from one State to another, when protected only by itself.—That when the *Romans* gained the universal Empire on the Continent, though much in a lower Condition in their Marine than *France* now is, the *Carthaginians*, the only State in the World then potent in this respect, were in the End destroyed.—That we ourselves only by one fortunate Defeat ruined the Naval Force of *Spain* in 1588, and acquir'd the Dominion of the Sea—That every People almost in *Europe*, now have some degree of Power upon that Element, and that a little Accession of Influence to *France*, must put her in a Condition to compel that whole collected Power to contend with ours,—that she might, with a little Extent of her Barrier, and Arrondissement of her Dominions, reduce half of her Armies, and employ half of her Revenues to encrease her Fleets.—That the Experience of all our Histories shews, that the utmost Care of the most numerous Squadrons, cannot secure us against being insulted, nay, even actually invaded;—and that such Invasions have never failed to put us to great Expence, and have always given us great Alarms, and sometimes proved successful: that we have rarely wanted a Faction, at any Time, to back and to abett Attempts of this nature; nor that, from the nature of our Government, we ever shall,—and that when they were thus backed, and thus abetted, they hardly ever failed of their Design.—The very Government, and Monarchy and Constitution of this Country, owe their Origin to these Invasions;—not to speak of the *Romans*, whose Conquests are very remote, the *Saxons* conquered this Island from the *Britons*, by their Fleets; the Empire of the *Saxons*, who, in Proportion to those Times, had very considerable Naval Forces, was, for a time entirely overthrown by the *Danes*;—and scarce had the *Saxons* recovered their Ground, but that the *Norman* Invasion compleated all, and made an entire Conquest of this Nation.—From that Time forward is it forgot how we have suffered by Descents from *France*; how the Contentions for private Titles were perpetually carried on, to the Perturbation of our State; how frequently every Party succeeded in their Turn; how near the *Spaniards*, as I have before observed, came to make a Province of this Island; how the Revolution, in the Memory of those now living succeeded, in spite of all the Vigilance of Government, how *IRELAND* was upon the very Point of being lost; how the *French* invaded, and retreated thence with Impunity; how, since that Time, many Descents have taken

taken Effect; when our Navy was in its Zenith, and those of other Powers at their lowest Ebb;—how vast a Number of our Ships have been found insufficient to answer all our several Purposes of Defence, of Trade, the Annoyance of our Enemies, and Protection of our own Coast; against one considerable Enemy, and one hollow Friend?—If we have not forgot all this,—we must be mad, to think, that, at any Time, or in any Situation, this Nation can, with Security, alone confide in their Naval Force, much less when the rest of *Europe* should be reduced to the dread of, or to a provincial Dependence upon a great Empire, within three Hours sail of some Part of our Dominions, and within ten of our Capital itself.

Will this Nation, however careful of its Liberty at Home, out of a remote and, honestly speaking, little to be dreaded Danger of the Influence of a small Military Force, expose itself to those Insults, which must destroy all Peace and Quiet, interrupt all Commerce, and may, upon every Turn, ruin the publick Credit of this Country, which gives Life to every Thing, in which we find either Profit or Security at Home:—But much more shall this Nation, from these imaginary Dangers, be mad enough to disband her Armies in the Time of actual War, and run headlong into the manifest, immediate and certain Dangers of a Foreign Yoke?—Are we to put ourselves to immediate Death for fear of dying hereafter?—What Folly is it, (out of a magnified Misrepresentation of Distresses, imaginary, and falsely pretended, Decay of Trade, or Suggestions of Poverty in the midst of immense Opulency, greater than either we or any other State in *Europe* ever yet enjoyed,) to refuse Succour to those Allies, whose *Standing Armies* awe that Power, which, when once unrestrained by them, can never possibly be resisted, but by such *Standing Armies* at Home, as would indeed be ruinous both to Trade and Liberty. By these occasional and temporary Expences, we secure the future and constant Assistance, and avail ourselves of the Benefit of *Standing Armies* of numerous and potent Nations, which answer, upon any Emergency abroad, that Want, which we otherwise should have of them at home, and without which our Country would infallibly, sooner or later, be the Seat of War,—without which our Inhabitants, instead of Manufacturers, must universally become Soldiers,—and our Battles be fought within our own Bowels, and by our own Countrymen, instead of being fought in the Countries of our Enemies, and to the Depopulation of other Nations.—No Expence can be too great to secure us these Advantages, or to preserve us from these Evils,—and to pretend, that the Benefits of our Situation are to be carried further than this, or to be secur-

ed by any other Means in the present State and Politicks of all the Powers on the Continent, is a *Presumption* upon the Goodness and Felicity permitted us by Providence, and a *Nonsense* that will destroy it all.

However evident this Reasoning is, yet its contrary met with Advocates, and enlarged *their Bottom*; but, *broad* as they affected to call it, and *broad*, as it really became, by the Folly and Passion, and Ferment of the Time, the Foundation, upon which it was built, was too bad to admit it to stand without it was yet much *broadèr*, to which End they employed their Sophesty, upon the Head of our Troops in *Flanders*, still much farther. This they urged in the Debate of that Day; but afterwards, according to their Custom, retailed among the People, in a Pamphlet, intituled, *The Question stated with regard to our Army in Flanders*. At the Close of which, they summed up all their Argument, corrected by the Debate, enlarged by the Collection of the various Reasonings of their Orators, and reduced by Leisure, into the Method best adapted to impose upon the Publick.

These Reasons were drawn into the Form of Questions most falsely and fallaciously composed, and as falsely and fallaciously answered by themselves, which I shall take the Liberty to answer in a different Manner.

The first Question was in these Words; 1st, Why, with one War upon your Hands, will you draw yourselves into another?

2^{dly}, Why will you make yourselves Principals in a War, in which you ought only to be Auxiliaries?

3^{dly}, Why do you run yourselves into Expences you can't bear, into Difficulties you will find it so hard, if not impossible to get out of, into Inconveniencies you see no End of, Pursuits where there is nothing to gain, and Struggles in which you have so much to lose?

4^{thly}, Why, if the Queen of *Hungary* is to be farther assisted; do you, instead of sending her Money, which might assist her, expend treble the Money she would be thankful for in raising Forces that can't assist her?

5^{thly}, Why did you dissuade the Queen of *Hungary* from listening to all Offers of Accommodation the last Summer, and particularly at the Siege of *Prague*? Why did you endeavour to prevent her accepting the Terms proposed of reciprocal Evacuation of *Bohemia* and *Bavaria*; leaving other Claims and Pretensions to future Negotiations and civil Decision, which is the End they must come to, unless these Squables last for ever?

6^{thly}, Why did you embarque in this Measure, without the Junction, Consent, Approbation, or even Participation of *Holland*?

7^{thly},

7thly, Why have you alone taken upon you the Hazards, Burthens and Expences of a Scheme, which all the Powers of *Europe* combined, would not *perhaps* be able to execute, and which no Power in *Europe* will assist you in?

These Questions are, by the Confession of the Author, who was known to be a capital Writer, the Substance of all they had to offer upon this Head,—and we shall now come to shew their flimsy Texture; —they are intended to pass as so many solid Facts, attended with so many irrefragable Reasons, how much they differ, from either Fact or Reason, appear by the following Reflections.

As to the first Question, we entered into the second War, because we were bound by the strongest Ties of Treaty and publick Faith to do it;—because the first War could never have been brought to a happy Conclusion without it;—because the second Enemy supported the first;—because the second Power, without entering avowedly into that War, supplied, encouraged, and fomented the Difference between us and the first; and because there is more Safety in an open Enemy, than in a false Friend:—because the Views of the first and second Enemy coincided with each other;—and because we were certain, that the second Enemy would have joined the first, with her whole and an irresistible Force, when she had finished her Work in *Germany*, and that then we should have had to deal with both these Powers, without any one Ally in the World,—whereas, by joining against the second, we were able to act in Conjunction with some of the greatest Powers in *Europe*, and a reasonable Expectation of the Aid of more;—because the rash Attempts of the first Power, partly to gratify her own wild Ambition, and partly to assist the Plan of the second, had afforded us the Means, if we engaged against the second, of ruining the Armies of the first, of confining her Fleets from any Possibility of doing us any Harm, and in fine, of disappointing her most favourite Views, of exhausting her Revenues, and of throwing her Government into Confusion in one Campaign, more than by any other way of waging War with her to the End of the World.—All this could be only done, when we had the one War upon our Hands, by engaging in the other.

As to the second Question, it will scarce admit of any Answer, because the Assertion it implies is absolutely and notoriously false in Fact, for we have hitherto not been Principals in this War in any Sense whatever: We have acted only as Auxiliaries to the House of *Austria*.—And this it seems I need not take the Pains to justify, since in acting as Auxiliaries, we are by Confession of this Author only what we ought to be.

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The third Question contains a complicated Charge, to which I shall distinctly answer: 1. It is as happily as it is palpably untrue, *that the Expences, into which we are involved, are such as we cannot bear.* For to the heavy Disappointment of the Enemies of this Country, the great Supplies of the last Year have been raised upon Terms as low, notwithstanding all the Arts of monied Men, and all the Terrors scattered by the *Faction*, as they ever were in Times of the most profound Peace, while the Enemy, we are engaged with, cannot raise the Sums he wants, at twice the Rate of Interest we pay: 2. *As to the Difficulties, which are foretold to be so hard and impossible to get out of,* it is now visible, that by the Steadiness of this Parliament, and the Blessing of God upon our Arms, we have already proved the *Faction* to be lying Prophets, and what has already happened, sufficiently promises us a full Detection of the Falsity of every one of their Predictions: 3. *As to the Inconveniencies we see no End of it,* it is undoubtedly true, that no human Reason can prescribe an exact Period to any War, the Inconveniencies of which must last till such War is determined; but if this be an Objection, it is such a one, as must make against engaging in any War, however just or necessary, in any Country or Conjunction whatsoever: 4. We are charged *with Pursuits, where there is nothing to gain; and Struggles, in which we have so much to lose.*—But can these Men pass for Patriots upon the Publick, who say, we have *nothing to gain*, by restoring that faithful Ally, which is alone able to stem the Ambition of the *French Monarch*, the implacable and ever dangerous Enemy of this Country? or can they be thought to have either common Sense or Honesty, who contend, that we should lie by in Time of such Danger?—*When are Men to struggle, but when they have so much to lose, as the Trade, the Independency, the Religion, and the Freedom of their Country?*

The fourth Question demands, *why we did not assist the Queen of Hungary with Money only?* I cannot but observe, that this Question, considering the Tendency of their former Insinuations, is a little unnecessary, unless they doubted of the Weight they might have upon the Publick;—for the general Turn of their Discourse has been, that it is vain to assist her, either with Men or Money.—In good Truth, if the Subject were not of too serious a Nature, it would be impossible not to laugh at the miserable Shifts they have been put to, to defend their wretched Cause. Whenever any Man of Sense and Knowledge kept them close in Argument, urged the Faith of Treaties, the Danger of *France*, the Ruin of the Balance, the Case of the Earl of *Orford* (censured by themselves for neglecting these Considerations,) they confessed

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all this, and denied, that they opposed it; they said, that they agreed in the Necessity of assisting the House of *Austria*, and that they differed only in the Means; yet, if ever they could fasten upon any weak, ignorant, or ill-disposed Person in private Conversation, it was their whole Labour to convince him of the Danger, impracticability, and Inutility of doing it at all. This was the Topick upon which their Tools and Emissaries were instructed constantly to entertain the People,--nay, they came at last to talk publickly in Parliament in the same disingenuous manner, and with the same Inconsistency.-- It will not be soon forgot, and in what Manner, how in the Debate of this very Point, their most eminent Directors argued, *some* grounding their Harangues upon this position, that the late Success of the House of *Austria* had reduced *France* so low, that she could not carry on the War with any Prospect of Success; that the Queen of *Hungary* might therefore make a safe and honourable Peace; and that to support her any longer would be to abet her in a War of Acquisition and Ambition, with which we ought to have no Concern; *others* declaiming upon this direct contrary Principle, that the House of *Austria* was now reduced so low, that she could never more be looked upon as a proper Power to be maintained for the Support of the Ballance against *France*, and that consequently, the Expence of assisting the Queen of *Hungary* in this View was fruitless and destructive, and tending only to encourage her in the Pursuit, and to plunge ourselves into the Certainty of more immediate Ruin. It is unnecessary to make any Remarks upon the Difference of the *Premises*; it is enough, that the Conclusion was the same from both. This kind of Reasoning therefore, as I have already observed, seems to have rendered this Question (*why we did not assist the Queen of Hungary with Money only of little Importance*) because, according to the Doctrine we have mentioned, the proper Question should have rather been, *Why do we assist the Queen of Hungary in any way whatsoever?*--However, we shall follow our Gentlemen for the present in their own Way,--and answer first, because, though she might have been thankful for a third Part of the Money, which our Troops cost us, as any Power in her late deplorable Circumstances would have been, it was not *her Thanks*, but *her Preservation* from immediate Ruin, it was not *her Gratitude*, but *the Recovery of her Power*, to ballance *France*, which it was our Business to procure; it must have been an Aid that would be *effectual*, or we should have left her worse than we found her. Now this Insinuation, that a Pecuniary Aid would have been alone effectual, is far from being true, though the whole Money, which our Armies cost us, had been remitted to *Vienna*.

--First, because such immense Sums, exported out of this Country thither, would have distressed us greatly, and would have none of it returned; it would have therefore been impracticable to have continued this Expence for any time: Whereas, by Experience of the last War, it was manifest, that very near two-thirds of the Charge of the Armies we maintained within a nearer Distance of this Country returned to us again; and we have had a Proof that we can support a War in this Method without any vast Diminution of our Specie. 2^{dly}, Because such immense Sums must, from the Nature of that Court, have been much wasted or consumed; but however applied, could not so conveniently have answered our Ends, because we should have lost the Advantage of a Diversion to the Forces of *France*, which is a Measure of the greatest Benefit in War: 3^{dly}, Because we should have lost the Advantage that resulted from the Security of the Barrier, from the Encouragement of the *Dutch*, from the Protection of the States and Circles lying upon the Confines of *France*, and the Influence we have since manifestly gained upon the Diet of the Empire. 4^{thly}, Because no other Measure could have put it in our Power to attack and penetrate into *France* itself, if God should prosper our Arms with any remarkable Success, that by this apprehension the Flower of her Armies have been consequently retained at home, and she more likely to be brought to Terms of reasonable Accommodation. 5^{thly}, That by this means we availed ourselves of two great Points; first, of the Cavalry of the Allies, which is the best in *Europe*, and must have been for the greatest Part unemployed in this Quarrel, if the War had not been carried on in this manner; and, secondly, of the natural Superiority which Confederated Powers have over a single Nation, and what was our manifest Advantage in the last War, viz. that the Loss of Men on our Part will fall more equally, and will be less felt; while the whole Loss of *France* falls upon her own Nation, from whence alone she is able to recruit; which Circumstance, all other things supposed to be equal, must enable the Queen of *Hungary* to sustain the War longer, and with less Inconvenience than the *French*.

--For whatever the Vulgar have been taught to think, the *Austrian* Dominions are by no means inexhaustible of Men;--tho' the *French* have suffered more, yet the *Austrians* have lost a great Number, and it is a certain Fact, that *France* alone contains more Inhabitants than all the Countries of the Queen of *Hungary* put together.--As to the last Assertion, that we have raised Forces that can't assist her, it was founded upon an infamous, wicked and abominable Falshood, That the Troops, with whom they acted in Conjunction, could not, nor would not, march in the Empire, now as fully laid open, and disproved in every Respect,

Respect, as was impudently and maliciously maintained.--In fine, A full Answer to all this Ribaldry is contained in one Word *Dettingen*, which, had they their Deserts, should be branded in the Forehead of every Member of the *Faction*.

The fifth Question is grounded upon and conveys the Assertion of a Fact, which to this Hour they cannot tell whether it be true or false; that we dissuaded the Queen of *Hungary* from listening to all Offers of Accommodation, the last Summer, particularly at the Siege of *Prague*, &c. To this I reply only, that if we did it we did wisely. None but Politicians, such as these, would have consented to a Cessation of Arms; (for these Offers of Accommodation in effect amounted to no more) the only View of which was to prevent the Ruin of 30,000 Regular Troops of *France*, and all the ill Consequences she suffered in the ensuing Campaign. Let us farther see upon what Terms;—*Why you, the Queen of Hungary, are Mistress of Bavaria, which we cannot recover; we, the French, are Masters of half Bohemia, which we cannot keep; give us therefore up Bavaria, and you shall have Bohemia, saving only to the Emperor our Ally, (that is to say, both to us and him, a sufficient Pretence to attack you again immediately, when we have got out of our present Scrape, with an additional Force) his Pretensions to all your Dominions, the present Possession of Part of Bohemia, and the Town of Egra, which is the Key to the whole; giving up moreover to him your Interest in Swabia, (which is little less than the third Part of that Circle, and has, by the Number of its Votes, the same kind of Influence in the Diet of the Empire, as Cornwall in the British Parliament;) together with the Forest Towns, (which as soon as you have parted with, your ancient and permanent Alliance with the Swiss, by which they are tied never to act in any Capacity as Enemies against you, will be dissolved;) then will we deliver up the City of Prague into your Hands.--No, that this City of Prague (out of which 10,000 of 30,000 that were there, and their best Cavalry a Part of that Number, never lived to return, which did not long after, and was then every Day expected to fall into the Austrian Hands,) was all that the Queen of Hungary could have gained by this Cessation, is too visible to be denied; and it is therefore no Wonder that she was so obstinate as she is represented by the *Faction*; she was not inclined to trust to a new Capitulation with that very Body of Troops, who had they not, contrary to all military Faith and Rules of War broke a Capitulation, by which they saved their Lives at *Lintz* a few Months before, could not have been at *Prague* in that Conjunction to have demanded a second Opportunity to abuse the Mercy of this generous Princess. Yet, shortly after, it was made a Pretence*

against her for not accepting these absurd Terms. The *Faction* abused her for it, and proclaimed that she no longer merited our Assistance, that she was vindictive and ambitious, and that she had changed the Nature of the War, that it was now become offensive instead of defensive on her Part; that she deserved to perish for her Folly, and our Ministers to be hang'd for advising her to it:--To what?--Not to trust to the insidious Offers, to the Faith of that perfidious Power, Offers, that gave no Assurance of any Accommodation; Offers plainly calculated to enable her Enemies to fall upon her immediately after, with redoubled Force, tending only to deprive her of the happy Opportunity, which God had presented, to give the greatest Blow to *France*, that was ever given to her in one Campaign; Offers to bribe her by an Advantage, which was, in Fact, already in her Hands,--to be guaranty'd to her, by the Honour and Honesty of *France*,--confirmed by the additional Power of her released Army, and secured by the Reservation of the Emperor's Title to all her Dominions, which the Emperor has, by his Memorials, since avowed to be his Intention never to have departed from. The Acceptance of such Offers may be advised by *Jacobite* Counsellors, and abetted by inconsiderate and never-to-be-blinded *Tories*; but no honest *Englishman* can bear such flagrant and manifest Discovery of a Confederacy in this Country to promote the Views of *France*; or suffer himself by any Pretence to assist in the Advancement of such a Party into the Administration of Affairs, as could recommend it to be done.

Indeed these Endeavours to prevent us from availing ourselves of every Advantage against *France*, these outrageous Attempts to prejudice our People against their natural Allies, this heaving with such excessive and unnatural Efforts against the Principles of Reason, Safety and Justice; all this puts it out of our Power, to deal more gently with these Men.

Our Ministers therefore acted honestly and wisely (if they did give the contrary Advice) and unless they had been of the Principles of that *Faction*, which abandoned the *Catalonians*, made the separate Peace of *Utrecht*, sacrificed their Allies, and all the Advantages of the late War, the Glory, Interest and good Faith of this Nation; and unless they had entertained the same View, the Preservation of the House of *Bourbon*, for the Service of the Pretender, they could have given no other. If this Step had not been taken, by this Time indeed we should not have had an Army in *Flanders*, nor would there have been a single Army in *Europe*, that could have ventured to have opposed the Views of *France*; the Queen of *Hungary*, attacked by the collected Force of *France*, would have clearly understood
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what were meant by the *future Negotiations*, and the *civil Decision* then proposed to her ; she must have submitted long &er now to the Will of that relentless Power ; and we should have had all our Thoughts turned vainly, and without Effect to execute the pleasant Scheme of these wise and honest Patriots, that of *entrenching ourselves in our Island against the united Power of France and Spain* ; how long it had been before these Entrenchments had been forced, every knowing Man can easily see and understand.

The next Question is, *Why did you embark in this Measure without the Junction, Consent, Approbation, or even Participation, of Holland.*--This Way of insinuating Falshoods with an *If*, and in this Manner, has the same Effect upon the People, as so many certain Facts, and give these Men the Opportunity, when the Insinuation is proved false, either by the Reason of their Adversaries, or the Event of Things, to say they only suggested what seemed to them the Case, and that they never positively asserted these Things.--But as they have all the Effect of positive Assertions, and as they reason upon them always, as if they were to be taken for granted, and for so many undeniable Truths, we have no other way to treat them, but to take them on our Part, as the People are intended to take them on theirs.--These Assertions therefore are all of them either false, or fallacious, but if ever so true, the Measure was such as the whole People (for the Reasons I have mentioned, when I first entered upon this Head) with all its Inconveniencies, and these great Uncertainties, thought themselves reduced to an absolute Necessity, by way of Experiment to undertake.--That we did it without the Participation of *Holland*, is a glaring Untruth, for it cannot be soon forgot how our Ministers were ridiculed by the *Faction*, for the pressing Instances we made in *Holland*, to engage them to join with us at that Time.--And that it was without their *Junction, Consent, or Approbation*, is very fallacious, because these Words convey an Idea, which is absolutely false, *that they refused to join at all, that they gave us reason to believe that they never would consent, and that they had given us to understand, that they condemned our Undertaking.*--Whereas the Fact was only this, that they would not join in the Instant that we first desired,--that they would not consent till they found that they might depend upon the Vigour and Stability of our Administration,--that they would not publicly approve of a Measure, in which it was not safe for them to engage, till they saw a Force sufficient to protect them, and till they were convinced, that the Efforts of a *Faction*, which had betrayed them once before, were too weak to defeat its Effect, and to leave them, as they did formerly, at

the Mercy of the *French*.--These appear to have been their only Reasons.--This we knew at that Time by the Assurances of their Ministry to ours ;--this the *French* then equally understood (as any Man may see by *Van Hoey's* Letters ; (and this is now so clearly demonstrated by their actual Accession to our Views, that for the future the People, if they are not infatuated, must be convinced, how little Dependence they ought to have upon Men who scruple no wicked Arts to render them the Tools to effect their still more wicked Designs, and that there may be a Necessity, in some Conjunctions, to repose a Confidence in the Abilities, Integrity, and Intelligence of those who direct their Affairs.

The seventh Question asserts three monstrous Facts, equally false, and equally tending the Ruin of our Country :--1st, *That we have taken upon us alone the Hazards, Burthens and Expences of this Scheme* ; that is, of preventing *France* from being Mistress of all *Europe* :--2dly, *That all the Powers in Europe combined would not be able* (perhaps) *to execute this Scheme* :--3dly, *That no Power in Europe will assist us in it.*

I am already wearied, and it is impossible to find Variety of Terms to express the Iniquity of the Conduct of these Men.--All their Assertions are so exactly correspondent with each other, that the same Epithets must be perpetually repeated, when we reflect upon them ; yet it is impossible for honest Men to let such Advances pass unanswered.--What Impudence can be so great as this, to say, that *England* alone has taken upon itself the Hazards, Burthens, and Expences of this War ?--The House of *Austria* has now in different Parts, and different Armies, no less than 180,000 Men :--Under Prince *Charles* 63,000 ; under other Generals in *Germany*, employed in the Sieges or Blockades of *Egra*, *Ingoldstadt*, &c. 30,000 ;--with the King of *Sardinia* and Count *Traun* 27,000 ; in *Flanders*, and upon the *Rhine*, 20,000 ; in the *Trentine*, and the *Tirol*, and adjacent Parts of *Bavaria*, 15,000 ; upon the *Adriatick*, ready to succour, either the *Italian* Armies, or to be carried into the *Neapolitan* Dominions by our Fleets, 12,000 ; and at least 13,000 Men in the Garrisons of *Austria*, the different Parts of *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, *Moravia*, *Servia*, *Croatia*, *Sclavonia*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, *Stiria*, and other Provinces which, bordering upon the *Turk*, can never be totally left unfurnished ;--the King of *Sardinia* has above 40,000, and with his Militia above threescore, which amounts at least to *Two hundred and forty thousand Men*, towards which we contributed no more than the Vote of 500,000 *l.*--Can it then be said, that we alone have taken upon us the Hazards, Burthens, and Expences of this Scheme, this
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genuine and incontrovertible State of our Confederacy, even at the Time of this Debate, evinces better than any Scheme of Argument or Words can do, the Falsity of every one of these three Assertions.--*That we hear the whole Expence--that it is impossible for all Europe combined to prevent France from becoming Mistress of the World.--and that we have no Allies--*so far untrue, that since the Accession of the *Dutch*, though as yet with no more than 28,000 Men, and his Majesty's Quota for the Electorate of *Hanover*, (both which the *Faction* impudently asserted we were never to expect,) together with the *English*, *Hessians*, and *Hanoverians*, in the *British* Pay, we have now in this Confederacy, and actually in the Field, little less than 320,000 of the best Troops in *Europe*, which is a greater Force than *France* alone will be ever able to bring against us, which she cannot maintain, and which, as her Troops consist at present of the very Reliques of her exhausted People, if they are once defeated, her Country cannot recruit again. And we are farther morally sure, should the War continue, of a much greater Assistance from other *German* States, certainly from *Russia*, and not possibly from even *Saxony* and *Prussia*. So that as our Affairs now stand, considering the total Ruin of *Bavaria*, the Inability of *Spain*, the immense Losses and Expences of *France*, which have been all wasted to little Effect, the Security of the *Turk*, the deep Resentments, and the Stake for which the House of *Austria* now contend, the manifested Perfidy and detected Views of *France*; we are in a much fairer Situation, if we avail ourselves of it, as we ought, to reduce *France*, than we ever were in any Period of Time. The only Danger therefore to which we are now exposed is from the Wickedness of this *Faction*, and the Levity and Folly of our own People, who may, by their intemperate Conduct and Impatience, induce our Ministers to accept of indifferent Terms from *France*, (though they know that she now lies in a manner at our Mercy,) rather than be compelled after yet greater and more clear Advantages to sacrifice still a fairer Prospect. Let me therefore adjure my Countrymen, by all that they hold most dear and sacred, not to concur in obstructing and defeating this glorious Opportunity, which God has thrown before us, which if properly improved is the only likely means to secure us for Ages yet to come, (most certainly for many Years,) against all those Expences, that have been so long heavy on us; against the Necessity of those standing Armies, which are so odious; and against those Taxes which, by the necessary Methods of their Collection, so greatly, though unavoidably, harass the People; which create that Dependency of which they are so jealous, and prevent the Diminution of

that Debt, which is at present so great a Clog upon our Lands, our Commerce and our Influence abroad.--The natural Consequences of that Success, which it seems at this Time so much in our Power to ensure, will far more effectually secure the Constitution of this Kingdom, than all the Paper Guards of popular Laws. These are but palliative and vain Remedies, if carried too far, tend only to aggravate the Differences and Jealousies between Prerogative and Privilege, and compel Government to invent new Allies of a more secret, and consequently the most dangerous Nature to the Liberties of every Nation.

We have now done with our Reflections on the Conduct of the *Faction* upon this Head of the 16,000 Troops in *Flanders*; and I hope with some Advantage to the Publick, by the clearest Vindication of that Measure, and by the manifest Detection of the Views of those, who opposed it, and seduced the People to be discontented with it. Wicked as their Conduct was in this, I know not how to describe its dangerous Tendency with relation to the next Point, upon which they shewed themselves. There are some Crimes so horrible, Designs and Views so infamous and so pernicious, that they secure themselves from Detection by the Honesty of Mankind, whose Ideas can scarce rise to the Suspicion that Man should be guilty of them. Of such a Nature was the Opposition of this *Faction* to the Question of the *Hanoverian* Troops.

In all the Course of the former Opposition, (though no rational Man will attempt to excuse every passionate Conduct of any Party,)--yet being conducted by Men, who ever strictly maintained their Affection to the Royal Family upon the Throne, who knew, that its Security was the Security both of Liberty and the Protestant Religion; it may be affirmed, that they never endeavoured to poison the Affections of the People to the Prince upon the Throne.--It was the Minister they attacked only, and a Change of his Person, and his Measures, as we have already observed, were all that they encouraged the People to expect.--Had their Prince been guilty of any Errors, or subject to any Infirmities to which human Nature is exposed, as well upon the Throne as in a Cottage, they would have thought it their Duty to have covered and concealed them all, rather than have hazarded one Grain of the Affections of the People to the Family upon the Throne.--If any Thing of this kind ever escaped, (and very little of it did in that Opposition,) it was the secret, and never-to-be-traced Venom of *Jacobites*, who united in their Party, and abused the Liberty of the Press; but for any one of those Men who are now taken into the Government, or who now act with it, who were the Leaders of the
Party

Party at that time, they neither acted nor countenanced, nay they kept down and destroyed that Tendency wherever it appeared. - Their Opposition was upon true Whig Principles, their Writings all tended to fix the People to these Principles, and one of the Reasons why they encouraged the Spirit of Popularity and Republicanism, perhaps too far, was to divert the People from a contrary and fatal Turn another way. -- But the Dregs of that Party, stripped of their Leaders, gleaned of the Whigs, by whom they are governed, are now fallen into the Hands of Men, whose Principles are the very reverse, -- who labour to destroy every Seed of Affection, or good Opinion in the People, to the Royal Family.

To render this desperate Design more practicable, they had thus begun to destroy the Opinion of the People, as to the Necessity of the War, and the Assistance of the House of *Austria*, in the manner we have seen, that they might (and it was impossible to be done without it) with more effect insinuate, in due time, the pernicious Belief, that it was a War engaged in merely for the Interests of *Hanover* alone.

They flattered themselves that the Time was now come. — The Press swarmed with such treasonable Pamphlets, as were never ventured, or ever known to be published in any Age or Nation. — The King's Person was in Ballads, and Libels attacked with a licence, which never was taken, even in the great Rebellion, when the King and the Nation were in actual War upon each other. It was now asserted publicly, and in Print, ^a *That the Interests of Britain had been steered, ever since the Accession of this family, by the rudder of Hanover.* -- ^b *That the Interests of Great Britain had been constantly and manifestly sacrificed, for many Years, to that of the Electorate.* -- ^c *That the Interests of Hanover had been the Touchstone of all our Measures since the Accession.* -- ^d *That Great Britain had been hitherto strong and vigorous enough to bear up Hanover on its Shoulders, and though now wasted and wearied out with the continued Fatigue, she was still goaded on, as if already sold to Vassallage, and by Compulsion obliged to persist in the ungrateful Drudgery, without Hope of, or Title to, Redemption,* -- ^e *and forced to submit to the Ignominy of becoming only a Money Province to that Electorate.* -- *That nobody could or did indeed wonder at the Affection his late Majesty expressed for his Native Country, and nobody blames the Tendernefs his present Majesty preserves for it ! Both of*

^a Case of the *Hanover* Troops, fol. 30. ^b The Interest of *Hanover*, fol. 19. ^c Ibid. fol. 51. ^d Case of the *Hanover* Troops, fol. 71. ^e Ibid. fol. 83.

them had their Beings and their first Impressions in it. Nor would it be surprising,--if the Successor should have some *Prædilection* for the Meridian in which he was born and educated, but it is a terrible Doctrine, that of being a pecuniary Province to a little State upon the Continent, destined only to bolster up its Pride, supply its Indigence, and gratify its frivolous Ambition, to lavish away, upon a puny hopeless stunted Child, the Nourishment necessary to support the healthy and thriving one.--^a Exhausted and beggared as we are already, a Servile Submission, and the breaking and taming of the true English Spirit, may possibly be thought the next Thing necessary; in order to which, the Interest and Influence of Hanover are no longer now to be disguised or concealed, but openly avowed as the Rule of our Conduct, and the Spring of our Actions.--^b Lured by an insatiable Thirst of Gain, in whatever Shape; in love with military Spectacles, and to make a Soldier-like Figure in the Field, Hanover may proceed as far as a March, or a Counter-march more would be too much.--^c Will you lose the Affections, and exhaust the Strength of your Kingdom, for the Addition of a Bailliage to the Electorate.--^d We have too much good Sense to be so imposed upon, too much Spirit not to resent the very Attempt, and too much Discretion to beggar ourselves for the sake of an Infant, which has been a Snare and a Curse to us from the Beginning.-- This is the venomous Stile, these are the very individual Words and Language of this detestable Set of Men set forth not only in their Speeches, both within the House and without, but published in the Face of Government, and to the World, delivered to the People as their Creed, inculcated as the Fundamentals of their Political Faith. written by their most eminent Men, avowed by them, recommended and with amazing Industry spread through the remotest Corners of the united Kingdom. I have referred to the Pamphlets themselves, and to the Pages, that I may not be accused of Misrepresentation; (the Books are in every Man's Hands,) for they who are capable to assert this, are Base enough to deny it when they have done it.

Let us now see upon what Pretences, and upon what imminent Danger, this Fire, Fury and Treason, dared to avow itself, to expect Countenance of the People, or to escape its Punishment.-- It was for this, and this alone, because *the Ministers had taken 16,000 Hanoverian Auxiliaries into British Pay to serve in the Quarrel against the House of Bourbon, and to support the House of Austria.* Without which we have so fully demonstrated that it could not in that Conjunction have been supported, or the Ballance of Europe saved from utter Ruin.

^a Case of the Hanover Troops, fol. 54.
^b A Vindication of the Case of the Hanover Troops, fol. 29.

^c Ibid. fol. 54.
^d Case of Hanover Troops, fol. 72.

The Articles of Impeachment drawn up against the King of England, (for the Attack was now pushed to the Foot of the Throne itself) were these :

1st, *That the King and his Father, Electors of Hanover, having no Regard nor Paternal Affection to their British Dominions, had falsely and treacherously, to their People of England betrayed their Interests, and by a corrupt Majority in Parliament, had sacrificed the Wealth, Treasure, Security, Liberty and Reputation of this Country, by one continued Series of uninterrupted Measures, to the contemptible Interest of their Hanoverian Dominions.*

2dly, *That to give the finishing Blow, to perfect this long-laboured and indefatigable Undertaking, and to gratify an Avarice insatiable, his present Majesty had hired 16,000 of his Hanoverians under a Pretext of composing an Army of Auxiliaries for the Service of the House of Austria.*

3dly, *That at the Time he did this, ^a he was convinced of the Impracticability of raising this Phantom of the House of Austria to be again capable of ballancing the House of Bourbon.*

4thly, *That at the same Time, -- ^b He knew too well, that it is against the Interest of every Prince in Germany, and even of the King of Sardinia himself, that such an Event should take place.*

^c 5thly, *That he had done this :--When the Queen of Hungary became not only successful in her own Enterprizes, but found Means to disengage Prussia and Saxony from France, nay, even France herself became perplexed and entangled to such a Degree, as to find herself obliged to offer Terms to the Queen of Hungary, for the saving both her Forces and her Honour.*

6thly, ^d *That he had been guilty of a Conduct to the last Degree impolitick, to say no worse, not to advise that Princess to accept the Offers of France, (viz. to save both the Forces and Honour of France,) with which Terms, Prussia, Saxony, and every Prince in the Empire, but one, are satisfied.*

7thly, ^e *That he had persisted in this Scheme of hiring 16,000 of his Hanoverian Troops, though from the Moment that the Queen of Hungary rejected these Offers, the Interest, and (of course) the Policy of the Dutch, was changed, the Dread of France, and its being to be paid, at the Expence of their Barrier, was lost.*

8thly, *That therefore he had violated the invariable Maxim (i. e. the Maxim laid down by the Faction to serve the present Purpose) never to enter into a Land War, but when the Dutch Barrier was in Danger : And that he knew very well, because*

^a Case of Hanover Troops, fol. 51. ^b Ibid. fol. 52. ^c Ibid. fol. 49. ^d Ibid. fol. 53. ^e Ibid. fol. 49.

the Dutch stood out, there was no real Necessity for our meddling at all.

9thly, That he had done this, when he knew the Dutch would never join us, which it was evident they would not, because they had not.

10thly, That he had done this, though by the Laws of the Empire, he knew that these Troops neither would nor ought to march into Germany in Aid of the Queen of Hungary, and tho' he knew they could be of no Use to her in Flanders, nor any where else.

11thly, That he hath done all this contrary to the Sense of Parliament, and in a manner that violated the Constitution and Privilege of Parliament.

There are but three Instances in all the History of this Country, that Articles of this Nature have been brought by the Subject against the Prince, in the Reign of *Edward* the Second, *Richard* the Second, and *Charles* the First; and in every one of these it was by Parliament, and after the Prince was virtually or actually deposed; but such an Arraignment of any Prince, while he sat upon his Throne, and had the Approbation of his Parliament for every Measure that he took, was never paralleled in this or any other Country.

And when we consider, not only the malevolent and desperate Tendency of this Charge, how the Facts have been misrepresented, how the Events have shewn the Falshood of almost every Article that is here laid down, and how obvious the Answer is to every one of the rest; when we consider the Views (to which they directly led) of Ruin to the Peace and to the Interest of this Country both at home and abroad;--who can say, that the Authors of this wicked Conduct, who now stile themselves by the gentle Term of *Opposition*, are charged by too harsh an Appellation, when they are proclaimed by the Name and Title of a *Faction*.

A *Faction* they are and must appear to every cool and honest Man the worst in their Designs, the most daring in their Attempts on Government, and the least warranted by any Pretence or shew of Reason, that ever reared its monstrous Crest in this Nation.

To observe, as it might be done, upon the Inconsistencies, false Conclusions, and Absurdities, contained in each Article of the Charge above-mentioned, would be to provoke Mirth, instead of that Horror which ought to arise upon this Proceeding, and would divert that Attention, and deep Reflection, which the Nation ought to have upon the Danger they are in from the Practices of these Men.-- As to every Point that may seem

seem to have the least Colour of Objection, I have purposely answered before, in the former Pages of this Work, that I might not interrupt that Reflection, and for the same Reason I shall here close my Account of the farther Conduct of these Men, with respect to this *memorable Question of the Hanoverian Troops*; to which Conduct nothing could add Aggravation, since its pernicious Intention manifestly was no other, than *by one uniform Proceeding, to dethrone his Majesty in the Hearts of his People, that they might the more easily detrude him afterwards from the Throne itself, and to preserve the House of Bourbon, in a Condition to place a Successor in his stead.* In which View, they likewise gave all Obstruction in their Power to the Supplies, and to every Way and Means to raise them.

But we are now, by farther Circumstances, to shew how they have imposed upon Mankind;--particularly in those three Points, by which they had duped the Publick to adhere to them, and to give up their Senses like an infatuated People with Regard to Foreign Affairs; *viz. the Place-Bill, the Triennial Law, and the Inquiry into the Conduct of the Earl of Orford*;--as to the *last* it is notorious, that they moved it only as a *Matter of Form*, and supported it in a Manner, that shewed it was a mere Farce; nay, they actually attempted, to take Advantage of the Union, which could not at once be rendered perfect between the Members formerly attached to his Party, and those that were lately admitted into the Administration, by giving sufficient Hints of a Disposition to treat with him not only for his Indemnity, but for his Readmission into Power again, upon Condition of being employed themselves; to which they applied themselves in an open and unguarded Manner, discovering in no one Point (after this Form was passed) the least real Inclination to prejudice him further; on the contrary treating his Friends with an affected Distinction of Respect, directing all their scurrilous Speeches and Invectives solely against the *new Part of the Administration*, nay, comparing *their* Conduct with *that* of the former Minister, not only with an Advantage, given in the Comparison, to the former, but with Encomiums from the Mouths of their Principal Orators, upon his Wisdom, Moderation and tender Regard to the Interest of his Prince and Country. Whoever sat in the last Sessions of this Parliament will bear me witness as to what I assert; but they did it so grossly, that it is almost past the Belief of those, who did not see and hear it, and so as to shew manifestly that they conceived the Capacities of their Audience in Parliament, to be as dull and capable of Imposition as those of the Herd they had so fatally and successfully practised upon without: But they were mistaken here; they had

had there to deal with *Whigs*, who can never be imposed upon by these Men, who have experienced them too long, and know them too well, to trust them in any Shape, which *Proteus*-like they are ready to assume to attain their private Ends. Even the Minister himself was contented with what he thought a better Security, the *Affection* of his old Friends, and the *Principles* of the new Part of the Administration, which would not suffer them to inflict any Punishment or to take *Révenge* upon any Man whatever, whose Destruction, from a Chain of Consequences, and the Ferment of a Nation, thus inflamed by these Incendiaries, must have brought Confusion upon their Country. He thought it more safe to rely upon the good Sense and Honesty of his declared Enemies, than to confide in the Faith of a *Faction*, whose Practice and Principle it was to deceive and to betray. The *old Part of the Administration*, though (from a natural Exultation in the Security, which the Folly and Wickedness of these Men, had beyond their Expectation insured for them,) they might divert themselves, and express some Pleasure to see this Turn in their Favour, and to find the Burden of Abuse, retorted upon those, who had not long before been very liberal of it to them, still knew this never-to-be-forgotten Truth, that neither they nor the Nation could be safe at any Time, without the Union of the *Whigs*; and could not stand without it for one Hour, in the present State of Things. The same Knowledge induced the *new Part of the Administration* to bear with Patience all this Malice of the opposite Party, and the disagreeable Circumstance of being not entirely well treated by those they co-operated with: they considered these things to be as unavoidable, as it was certain, on the other hand, that Time would by Degrees redress this temporary Inconvenience; and they comforted themselves with this happy Reflection, that the Benefit, which had accrued to the Nation, was singly owing to the *Firmness* of their former, and the *Moderation* of their present Conduct; that any *Good* unattained, or any *Evil*, likely to ensue, was the Off-spring of the Wickedness, Passions and Folly of other Men; and that the Success and Prudence of their Measures, had maintained the Balance of Power *abroad*, and the Interest both of their King and Country *at home*. By this visible Insincerity of these pretended Patriots, the Publick ought, and will, if they are not wholly blinded, see that *the further Success of this Enquiry, is an impracticable thing, that is not owing to those upon whom they cast the popular Odium of it, and that it is now palpably kept in Reserve only for a Subject of Distraction and Disunion of the honest Part of this Nation.*

Now

Now as to the *Place-Bill*.--How ridiculous it is for these Men, (who embarked in the present *Faction* avowedly upon the Account that they had not been the very first of the late Opposition taken into Employment) to be the Persons entrusted by the People of *England* to obtain for them what they desire, in this Respect, wants nothing to give it Illustration; yet, if it wanted any, it would receive it from the faint Attempt of the *Faction* to compass this Point, which was visibly no more than to maintain the Shew of their Professions, and far from being carried on with that Warmth and Spirit which they exerted in the other Pursuit of distressing the Government in every Step and Shape in the Prosecution of the necessary, just, important and practicable View of recovering the Weight, Influence, lost Honour, and Security of this Nation, with Regard to its Affairs abroad:--How therefore can the People be deluded with their Pretences to procure what these Demagogues have put it out of the Power of any body to procure for them, and what so manifestly appears they have no real Intention to procure themselves, were it in their Power?--It is evident, that this Point is likewise now only maintained for the same Views of Disunion and Distraction.

Their Conduct, as to the Point of a *Triennial Parliament*, clears this up yet more plainly.--These Men have not so much as followed the Instructions, which they themselves instructed the People to insist upon;--for they never once attempted, or made any Motion during the whole last Sessions, towards the Repeal of the *Septennial Law*,--which is to be accounted for no other Way, than that they found an infinite Majority disposed against it, or that they themselves were not sincere in their Professions for it.--Both these were indeed their Reasons. Their chief People voted directly against it themselves, when it was proposed in the preceding Sessions,--and they must either have acted counter to themselves, which would have exposed them too much, while their former Votes were fresh in every Man's Memory, or have detected this great Truth, to those whom they laboured still to deceive, that they never themselves intended it should pass.--What Dependence then, or what Prospect can the People have to compass this favourite View, by the Aid of those Men to whom they have abandoned their Sense and Reason, and every Thing that is most dear, to engage them to obtain it for them?

If then the People of this Country may so clearly see, that these Points are, from every Circumstance, and above all, from the former Imprudence, and the present deceitful Conduct of this Set of Men, not possibly to be attained.--Why do thy persist to imagine a vain thing?--If their Opposition,

as from what I have observed, is most undoubtedly the Case, cannot tend to procure these Things for them ;--for what is their Perseverance in that Opposition, *but for Opposition sake?*--Or what Effect can it produce, but the Prevention of a certain important Good, *the Establishment of a perfect, permanent, and almost despaired of Security, as to our Foreign Affairs?*--Which would any rational Man reject (considering moreover the ir retrievable Condition we shall be reduced to if we should lose this happy Opportunity) for the sake of the Pleasure of *Opposition only?*--Can any Man justify this delusive Entertainment of the Multitude, with Projects, which in his Soul he knows *impracticable*, and which, if *practicable*, are undoubtedly both of the *nicest Nature*, and of very *dangerous* and *uncertain* Operation, from the unforeseen Consequences that attend all great Alterations in the Government of all Countries?--Or will any honest Man think himself intitled to lay the Seeds of such Divisions and Discontents in this Nation, as manifestly tend to shake the Foundations of the Monarchy, and the Constitution of this Country, for the sake of *Opposition only?*--This is all the Fruit the People can at this time hope to reap from it,--their Leaders indeed may hope another,--what that is, the Tenor of their Conduct plainly manifests, and that it is both of a *publick* and *private* Nature.--But will the People be allured to abet such Views for the *Publick*, or is it worth their while to hazard and to sacrifice so much for the *private Views* of such pretended Patriots?

I might content myself, if I only wrote to reasonable Men, and to Men in their right Senses, with this full Detection of the corrupt and pestilent Views of this Faction, and with this Evidence of their want of Capacity, as well as Inclination, to compass any thing but the Ruin of this Nation both at Home and Abroad. But as I write to Men heated and inflamed with Passion, to a giddy and unthinking Multitude, elated with their late Success, and thence liable to misjudge of their Abilities, and to think that practicable which in a cooler State they will plainly see to be wholly out of their Power,--as, so long as they shall think their Pretensions to be just and necessary, they will never desist from the vain Pursuit; and as, by this Means, the Nation will be harrassed with the most fatal and endless Confusion, I shall now, with the utmost Candour, Honesty and Truth, endeavour to give them a juster View of those false Opinions, which in some very important Points, they so vainly, and yet so passionately entertain; though it may clash with the Popular Opinion, so as to draw down the worst Inconveniences upon my self; though it may even disgrace the Judgment, or create
some

some unjust Reflection upon the Sincerity of others, as subjecting them to the Imputation of having maintained Doctrines, which were in themselves erroneous, or even such as they knew to be such. Candour, Honesty, and true Patriotism, will make it rather a Matter of Honour than Shame in these Men, to submit to these Inconveniences ; nay, even to make a fair Acknowledgment, either of their Mistakes, or Faults, rather than by a false Desire of appearing *consistent*, to be really *inconsistent*, in their most capital Profession, and Intention, that of *supporting, in every Event, and at every Hazard, the true Interest and Happiness of Britain.*

We have already observed in another Place, that the Views of the *Jacobites* had been so universally exploded by their infamous Conduct during the lost four Years of the Queen, and by the Proof, that arose of their dangerous Designs, from the Rebellion, that broke out soon after ; and the Nation was so universally convinced of the Danger of that Faction, had seen such Consequences from their pretended Patriotism, and thought themselves so happy in that critical Deliverance ; that our Government enjoyed a Tranquillity beyond the Experience of any former Time. The *Jacobite* Spirit and the *Republican* Temper of the People both seemed in a Manner to have been annihilated by the different Inconveniences they had in the Space of threescore Years, alternately brought upon the People ; the Concurrence therefore of the whole Nation made the Government so strong, and the Administration of Affairs so easy ; that it tempted the late Minister to wanton in his Power, to disoblige many able and considerable Men, to despise the People, to be guilty of Mismanagement in the Conduct of our Revenue, and to form Projects for the raising of Money, without due Attention to the Tenderness and Suspicions of the People upon any Encrease of Influence or Power ; till by this Conduct, by attempting to engross more than he could execute, and by undertaking to manage Foreign Affairs, which he little understood ; our Condition insensibly grew very desperate both at home and abroad, and yet the People seemed insensible of this to such a Degree, and made so constant a Choice of those he recommended, that most Men thought their Spirit greatly changed and broken, and that it was necessary to rouse them from the Lethargy, they seemed to be in. This honest Apprehension made them not afraid to animate the People by Discourses of a *Republican* Turn ; — the Liberties of *Europe* were upon the Brink of irretrievable Ruin, and if these were lost, the Liberties of *Britain* could not stand : — Any means, that were not more dangerous than immediate Ruin, were

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thought

thought lawful to be used, to effect this Change; the Means they used, far from seeming dangerous, appeared safe to them, and to have a Tendency to bend the People from that Plie, which, upon all our late Disorders, had appeared to cast very dangerously another Way.—But their Zeal undoubtedly hurried them too far in this Respect. We have spoken freely of the *Faults and Errors* of the late Minister; we shall not scruple to speak with the same Freedom of the *Opposition to him*. This was at least an *Error*, if not a *Fault* in them,—and the Publick at this Hour feels its bad Effect.

For the People have taken that, which was the *Means* to be the *End and View* of Opposition. The End and View of their Opposition was to change the Minister, and to change the Measures; but the People now having got these Ends, and carried this View, consider them only as the Means to get in effect what no prudent Man ever wish'd or intended they should get, *the whole Power of this Government, and the whole Constitution into their own Hands*.

Moreover, by the Ferment, that has arisen in this Nation, it has manifestly appeared, that neither the Spirit of the People is so low, nor the Power of the Crown so high, as both were imagined by many to have been during the Course of that Opposition. It appears, that the People are still able to remove a bad Minister, and to force a Change of Measures, whenever it becomes the universal Sense, that the Minister and the Measures are really wrong; the Liberty and Power therefore of the popular Interest in this Country is incontestible, and as great as it is necessary or ought to be in any. To change the Ballance of the Constitution is not their Right, nor ought those Alterations to be made, which would enable them to do it.

It appears further, that the Views of the popular Interest, inflamed, distracted, and misguided as it has been of late, by those into whose Hands it has unhappily fallen, are such as they were never imagined to have been; a Party of Malecontents (by the Sufferance of the most ignorant and uninformed) assuming to themselves, though very falsely, the Title of the People, claim with it a Pretension, which (were their Title just, no People could have a Right to claim,) erecting themselves into a new Order in the State, affecting a Superiority to the whole Legislature; insolently taking upon them, to dictate to all the three Estates, in which, the absolute Power of the Government, by all the Laws of this Country, has indisputably resided ever since it was a Government, repining at every Decree they make; endeavouring to animate the People

People, in effect, to resume into their own Hands, that vague and loose Authority, which exists (unless in Theory) in the People of no Country upon Earth, the Inconvenience of which is so obvious, that it is the first Step of all Mankind, as soon as formed into Society, to divest themselves of it, and to delegate it for ever from themselves:—A Power, which could not be permitted even in a Society of 500 Families, impracticable in a great Empire, and therefore an ideal Doctrine, tending to no Point or Purpose whatsoever, but to cast this Nation into the most horrible Confusion, and to throw it back into a State of Nature. That has likewise appeared, which nothing can discover but Revolutions or Conjunctions, that approach so near them as this has done; viz. *that though the Influence of the Crown has seemed for some Years to have encreased visibly, the popular Interest has been for many Years invisibly encreasing in a far greater Proportion.* The greatest Changes in all States are wrought by certain Alterations in the Circumstances and Properties of the People; which escape the most penetrating Eye, till Time and Accidents have ripen'd them to a proper Crisis. The Convulsions of Nations are like the Shocks of subterraneous Fires, form'd by an Assemblage of combustible Materials long collecting, and unsuspected till the very Moment of their fatal Explosion; the *Effects* are therefore the only means by which such *Causes* can be learned: The *Republican* Spirit so strangely risen as we have lately seen it, that to work its Ends, it has preposterously join'd with its Antipathy the *Jacobite*, directs us surely to this *Cause*; which can be no other than the great Encrease of Property in the People. The Revenues of the Crown however magnified, we shall presently come to shew, have borne no Proportion to it, the Encrease of the Peerage, either in Property or Number, notwithstanding the Additions that have been made since the Revolution, have in no degree kept Pace with it; induced by the Circumstances of the Time, to examine the Point, it is visible beyond all Power of Contradiction, that this has been the Case.—At the *Revolution* the Numbers of the People were computed nearly at *Six Millions*, and by the long Peace, and necessary Encrease by Procreation, this Number cannot be *at present* less than *Seven*, or in that Proportion; the Expence of the People per Head was about *Seven Pounds* at the *Revolution*, at *this Time* it is universally agreed, that this Expence amounts to *Ten*. Now as the Revenue of the People must infallibly be at least as much as the People spend, it follows, that the Revenue of the People was at the Revolution *Forty-two Millions*, and that it is *Seventy Millions* now: The People have therefore encreased in their annual Income *Twenty-eight Millions*

since the Revolution; and as it is a Maxim incontestable in Politicks, that Power always follows Property, which must sooner or later operate in every Country, it is manifest, that the People have acquired in the Space of fifty Years, more solid Weight in the Scale of this Constitution, than they could have gained, or can gain by all the popular Laws, that ever were made, or can be made in their Favour to the End of Time.

Before I prosecute this Argument, to the Conclusion which I intend from it, perhaps it may be thought necessary to explain a little, how it came to pass, that this Growth of the Popular Interest should be so little perceived till now.—It happens in all Cases as it has happened in this, and for the same Causes,—the Spirit of the People rising with their Circumstances, creates Difficulties to Government, of which it feels the Effects, long before it apprehends the Cause. These Difficulties in a manner drive Government to exercise all its Authority, and to use many Arts in its own Defence, by which the People, who do not see the Necessity it is under to do this, condemn, and consider them, as Attempts offensive, when they are in reality defensive.—The Insults of the one, and the Arts of the other therefore both encrease, till neither think themselves secure, (which is the Misfortune, and in long run the Ruin of all mixed Governments) without new Laws, to encrease Power on the one Hand, and Privilege on the other.—And, for a time, it is very evident, why the Government is rather more successful than the Popular Interest in these Attempts, because the Generality of Men finding themselves easy in the general Prosperity, and observing no material Change in the written Constitution, rather chuse to support the Government, though they do not approve all its Proceedings, than to abet the Popular Views.—the Peace of Society being (at least for the Time) secured by the first, and always endangered by the last.—But, in the long run, Accidents will happen, which will either change the Persons of those in this moderate and cautious Way of Thinking, or distract their Principles, or confound their Judgments,—and when this happens, the Popular Spirit, having once made the Breach, blows up the Dam at once, and destroys, in one Hour, the Works that have been an Age erecting to restrain it within its due Bounds: Thus, for want of an exact Knowledge of the different Nature of the Force, which Government employs against the People, and that of the Popular Interest against the Government; and from this Circumstance, that the *one* is *visible* in every Step of its Encrease, ~~the other latent and concealed~~; and from hence, that *the one*, by its

its gradual and constantly opposed Progress, is not only observed, but magnified, while *the other* encreases insensibly, and without either Opposition or Preception, it becomes, from the Nature of the Thing, extremely difficult for any, and entirely impossible for the Generality of Men, not to be deceived in the Condition of the Constitution, under Circumstances such as these. Something will arise from an impartial and judicious Reflection upon these Particulars, very deserving the Attention of all reasonable Men. And the Judgment which must result from it can be defeated by nothing but a Discovery, that the Crown has encreased in the same Proportion of Power as the Popular Interest has so manifestly done; in this Case there is nothing in all this Argument; but if it has not, *the Ballance undeniably preponderates on the Side of the People, more than it did at the Revolution*, that is to say, more than it ever did in any Period of our Government, and consequently the *Discontents of the People, so far as they are founded upon a contrary Supposition, are most unreasonable, unjust, and dangerous.*

In order to examine this Point, all that is necessary to be done is, to consider in what the Power of the Crown has been encreased since the *Æra* of the Revolution, there are but three Particulars in which it could possibly receive Addition, in the *Encrease of its Civil List*; in the *Influence of additional Employments*; and lastly, in *positive Laws in Favour of Prerogative*; of all these the first, which is *the Property of the Crown*, must be in its Operation the most considerable, from what we have already observed as to the Effect of Property. This is therefore the Point, which we are to consider first, and with most Attention:—But we must previously observe, that the Reason why we go no higher than the *Æra* of the Revolution is, because though no Civil List was settled before, the Civil List Expences were enormously great, the publick Charge being not above 700,000 *l. per Annum*, and the Revenue being above *two Millions* from the Restoration to that Time,

Now as to the Encrease of the Power of the Crown from an Addition to its Property, it can consist in nothing but the *Civil List*; the Crown having now no Ability, as it had before the Revolution, (when the publick Revenue and the *Civil List* were both in the Disposition of the Crown, and not divided,) to apply one single Shilling of that publick Revenue to any Use, but to that for which it is appropriated.—Let us therefore examine the Quantum of the *Civil List*.

Indeed, upon the first Face of this Examination, the Power of the Crown appears be encreased, for the *Civil List* is now

800,000 *l.*

800,000 *l. per Ann.* whereas in the Reign of * King William, and the late Queen it was but 700,000 *l.* But when this Point is duly considered it is indisputable, not only that this is no *real* Encrease to the Power of the *Crown*, but that this Power is diminished, notwithstanding the *nominal* Addition to this *Revenue*.

King William and Queen Anne, as we have already observed, had but 700,000 *l. per Annum*; but neither had any Family to provide for, and both lived in Times, when that Income would have supported a greater Expence, than a *Million* would now do; for the Truth of which I appeal to the Experience of every private Family, and to the known Advance of Price in all Commodities and Articles of Expence whatsoever.—Exclusive therefore of the great Deduction, which arises from the Expence of his Majesties numerous Progeny, there is, in fact, instead of an Encrease of Power to the Crown in the Proportion of 100,000 *l.* a manifest Diminution of it in the Proportion of 200,000 *l.* which is the Sum deficient to make up a *Civil List* equivalent (considering the Difference of the Times) to that of King William, or of the late Queen.

And indeed without a Consideration of the Difference of the Times, no fair or just Estimate is possible to be made upon this Subject; every Century creates a mighty Alteration in this Respect. In the Time of the Conqueror the King's Revenues are reckoned by all the old Historians to have been enormous, and were computed at 1060 *l. per Diem*, which amounts to 386,900 *l. per Annum*; and we might therefore with the same Justice reason, that a Revenue at that Amount would be now too great, as to argue that the *Civil List* should not be greater now than it was forty or fifty Years ago; the Objections therefore, that have been made of late upon this Head, have been fallacious to the highest Degree, and either they, who have listened to them, never considered the Point as it ought to be considered, or have *secretly intended*, instead of keeping the Power of the Crown to its ancient Standard, *to reduce it lower than it ever stood in any Period of our Government*.

But when we look a little farther into this matter, however clear this Argument may be, we have no need much to insist

* At the Revolution the *Civil List* was settled at 600,000 *l. per Ann.* but this being very deficient to answer the Charges upon that Head, the Parliament in 1695 granted the King a Sum of 500,000 *l.* to pay his Debts, and in 1699, *Anno 9 & 10 Gul. III. cap. 23* though the Queen was then dead, found it necessary to encrease the *Civil List* to 700,000 *l. per Ann.*

upon it ; for since the late Alteration of the Ministry, the Encrease of the Appointments of the Prince of *Wales*, has wholly taken away this Objection ; his Royal Highness now enjoying his complete Allowance of 100,000 *l. per Annum*, which is the whole of that *nominal* Encrease of the *Civil List*, above what it formerly was before his Majesty's Accession. When this comes to be considered, the Power of the Crown, with respect to Property, is not at all increased, even its first Aspect ; but is on the other Hand, when justly compared in all its Circumstances, greatly and undeniably *decreased*, since the Period I have mentioned. Yet such is the malignant Temper of this Age, that we have more to combat than Arguments and Facts—*Bonaque ac Mala non sua Natura, sed Vocibus Seditiosorum æstimantur* ; Insinuations of a malicious Tendency have Weight superior to all the Reason in the World, and we must fight through these upon every Turn. Of this Nature is that vaunted Assertion in the *The Case of the Hanover Troops*^b, of the late Queen's Generosity in a Present made by her out of the *Civil List* of 100,000 *l.* in one Year, towards carrying on the War with *France* ; and from hence an oblique Argument is attempted to be drawn of a Superabundance in the present *Civil List*, and an indirect Reflection, both upon the Misapplication of the Surplus, and the Want of an equal Tenderneſs to the Publick in his present Majesty ; it is further manifest with what a wicked Intention this invidious Comparison is made, from the officious Care of that infamous Author to remind the Reader, that that Princess was a Daughter of King *James II.* and from the Tendency of his whole Performance, which is plainly calculated to incline the People to regret the Loss of that Family, by a Side Wind to trumpet the Fame of his own Faction, and to recommend it to the ignorant and deluded Multitude ; the Queen being notoriously, at that Time, in the Leading-strings of *Jacobites*.

But it is impossible sufficiently to admire either at their Confidence or their Impudence in this Mention of a Particular, which can be so strongly retorted upon them : In fact, this pretended Generosity was one of the most scandalous Actions, that the Crown was ever led to commit by any Administration ; it was a manifest and gross Cheat upon the Publick, who were extravagant Losers by it ; for some Time after, *viz.* upon the 25th of *June*, 1713, the Queen was advised to acquaint the House of Commons by Message, that she had contracted a very large Debt upon her *Civil List* Revenues, which she was unable to

^a Tacitus, Lib. Hist. 4.

^b Page 79.

pay, and therefore desired them to make good; and such was the Complaisance of a *Tory* Parliament, that notwithstanding the Detestation, which must have arisen in every honest Breast, upon the Detection of this clumsy Juggle; and though Mr. *Smith*, one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, honestly informed the House, that the Estimate of this Debt was astonishing to him, being made to amount in *August* 1710 to 400,000 *l.*; whereas he was able to affirm from his own Knowledge, that it amounted at that Time to little more than 100,000 *l.* and though many others undertook to prove that the Funds given for the 700,000 *l.* had, in reality, amounted to 800,000 *l.* and though these Gentlemen had prevailed so far, as to procure an Address to the Crown for an Account of the *Civil List* Debt at *Midsummer* 1713, and for a yearly Account of the Nett Produce of the *Civil List* Revenue, no Regard was paid to this Information, nor to this Address; none of these Accounts were ever permitted to be laid before the House, and upon the very next Day they voted no less a Sum than 500,000 *l.* for this Service. This is the Truth, and the whole Truth of that generous Exploit of the *Jacobite* Administration, under the Daughter of King *James II.* which was no more than a mean Trick, in which they basely employed the Name, and abused the Honour of that unfortunate Princess, to gull the Nation of 400,000 *l.*

From hence results a Proof, not only that the present *Civil List* is not greater than that of the late Queen, but that the *Civil List*, though we should waive the strong Fact of the Inequality of the same Revenues from the Difference of the Time, could not nearly suffice to answer the Expences of the Crown, even forty Years ago; it must follow therefore, either that a much greater Part of it was employed in *secret Services* and to *unwarrantable Purposes*, during that favourite Reign; or that the Oeconomy, even of the late profuse Minister, must have far exceeded that of the boasted Administration of a Set of Men they labour so much to ingratiate with the People.

The *Faction* manifestly reduced to this Dilemma, may possibly rather chuse to confess the *latter* than the *former*; but in doing this they must, in the first Instance, acknowledge a manifest Advantage to this Country from the Oeconomy of his present Majesty, who, though he has already reigned some Years longer than the late Queen, has hitherto neither demanded or received from his People on this Account, more than one single Sum of 115,000 *l.* and if they give it the only Turn that can be given to it, (after what we have already proved,) viz. that it is equal to the Publick, whether the *Civil List* be greater or not, if his Majesty can afford out of it more than his Predecessors could afford

to those secret Services, which are supposed to affect the Publick Independency; this is what I absolutely and justly deny: Because (allowing it to be true in its utmost Extent) it is but a temporary Influence arising from a peculiar Turn, Temper, and, I may call it, a Virtue in its first Principle, which is accidental in the Person of one Man, may probably perish with him, and cannot be looked upon as any real, solid, or permanent Encrease of Power in the Crown, or Change in the Spirit of the Constitution. If this be duly considered, it ought greatly to quiet the Apprehensions raised in the Breasts of a very great Number of well-meaning Men, by the Report of the late Secret Committee; for however great the Sums there specified to have been Improperly applied to Secret Service out of the Civil List may be, and very unwarrantable, in some Particulars, undoubtedly they are; yet the Conclusion drawn from thence is not just, that our Constitution is decay'd, in this respect, or in a worse Condition than it has been in former Times. For this certainly cannot be the Case, when the Civil List is evidently not encreased, either in fact, or in effect; and the utmost that can be drawn from this Report, or any Discovery that hath or can be made, must amount to nothing more than that a temporary Circumstance had put it in the Power of a late Minister to make a worse Use of it, than his Predecessors had been willing, or than, in all Probability, for any Time to come, his Successors can be able to do.—Which may indeed affect that Minister, but ought not justly to affect the Constitution, or lead the Publick to any rash and violent Alterations of it.

I am sensible, that this doctrine will not, at first, suit well with the false Notions, which many have so passionately entertained of this Matter; but I am very indifferent upon that Head, *Magna est Veritas & prævalebit*; Truth may be borne down for a while by Prepossession and false Insinuations, but will force its way at last: As therefore it is my sole Intention in these Papers, to bring my Countrymen into a just and moderate Temper, to allay that dangerous Ferment, which is now raised, and during the Continuance of which, it is impossible for them to make a right and impartial Judgment of their Affairs, I shall make no Scruple to oppose myself to their strongest Prejudices without any Regard, whom I may oblige or disoblige; I neither fear the Resentments of the Friends of the former, nor court the Favour of the present Administration, I am not to be deterred by the Malice and Scandal of a Faction, nor will I humour the Passions and Folly of a People, whom every honest Man must endeavour to preserve, even against their Inclinations, when they precipitate themselves, through Passion, Credulity, or Ignorance, into Ruin and Destruction.

To speak therefore farther with the same Freedom upon the Subject of this Misapplication of the *Civil List*, as I have done upon every other Topic, which has hitherto fallen under my Consideration, I must observe, that it is not easy for the Publick to judge, whether the Sums now discovered by this Report to be expended out of the *Civil List*, in the way, that they have appeared to be expended, were not, upon the whole, as great in former Reigns ; the Presumption is strong that they have been much greater, because it is evident, the *Civil List* could have afforded it much better ; and as no Parliamentary Enquiry was ever made before as to this Point, or directed to this Particular, at least, their Information cannot extend to determine positively against this Opinion.

But what if we should be able to discover, that in Truth notwithstanding the Greatness of this Sum, *the Charge of the Government upon this Head was greater formerly than it is now* ? yet this seems capable, in a great Measure, of being proved by Facts and Figures, the most stubborn Evidence, that can support any Proposition in the World :

For upon the great Settlement of our Constitution at the Revolution, the Parliament having called for all the Lights they could procure to enable them to judge of the Expence of Government in all its Branches, in order to make that Separation of the Charge of the Crown, and of the Publick, which was one of the great Benefits of that Charge, and took away that extravagant Power, which the Crown before derived from having the sole Management, and Distribution of the whole Revenue at large ; it appeared, that the Article of the Secret Service alone (besides the Allowance to the Secretary of State, 6066 *l.* and the Pensions, which came to 146,703 *l.* *per Annum*.) amounted *communibus Annis* to 89,968 *l.* 8 *s.* 2 *d.* $\frac{3}{4}$ which, notwithstanding the Temper they were then in, was not at all censured by Parliament as exorbitant at that Time.

Upon this Foundation I shall proceed to compare the Expence of Government under this Head before the *Revolution*, with the Expence of Government under the same Head in the *present Time*.

It appears then, that computing upon a Term of eleven Years before the Revolution, the Expence of Government upon the Article of Secret Service amounted to 989,652 *l.* 10 *l.* 6 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$ again it appears by the Report of the *Secret Committee* (in the *Appendix* No. 10.) that in the same Term of eleven Years from the Year 1731, to the Year 1741 inclusive, this Article of *Secret Service* amounted to 786,355 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.* to which Sum, the Committee have thought fit to add two Articles, both

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of which are (with Submission to so great an Authority), in great Measure, different in their Nature from that Article, which is properly called *Secret Service*, viz. Money issued for *Special Service*, 272,504 *l.* 8 *d.* and Money issued to *re-imburse Expences* 205,390 *l.* 17 *s.* 10 *d.* which two Articles together amount to 477,894 *l.* 18 *s.* 6 *d.* They have likewise added further three other Articles, viz. 66,000 *l.* for the Secretaries of State, 68,800 *l.* upon Account, to the Solicitor of the Treasury, and 50,077 *l.* 18 *s.* to Authors and Printers, amounting together to 184,887 *l.* 18 *s.*

These Totals of 786,355 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.*—477,894 *l.* 18 *s.* 6 *d.* and 184,887 *l.* 18 *s.* come to 1,449,128 *l.* 13 *s.* 10 *d.* and with a few other small Articles amount to the compleat Sum of 1,453,400 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* which is stated in the Report as supposed to be the Expence of the Civil Government in Secret Service, during the Space of the said Eleven Years^a. But if we are to compare the Expence of the former and the present Government, upon the Face of the two Accounts, it is visible, that we can only put the single Article of *Secret Service* Money before the *Revolution*, against the *same* Article at this *Time*; which if we do, we shall find, that the *same* Article before the *Revolution*, amounted as above, in a Term of eleven Years, to 989,652 *l.* 10 *s.* 6 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. whereas it amounted to no more than 786,355 *l.* 17 *s.* 4 *d.* in the *same* Term, from 1731 to 1741 inclusive; so that, in this Light, the Charge instead of being encreased is diminished since that Period, by no less a Sum than 203,296 *l.* 13 *s.* 2 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. And to consider this Point in any other Light, though it may be done with much Art, cannot with any Degree of Certainty; for if, as in the Report, other Articles of Expence are brought (as seeming to have some Relation to it) to swell the Amount of the Articles of Money lately issued for *Secret Service*, it would be requisite to scrutinize with the *same* Industry, into other Branches of the Charge of the Civil Government before the *Revolution*, which is impossible to do at this remote Distance of Time: And farther, undoubtedly (however exceptionable either the Greatness of the Sums, at first Sight, may be, their Application, or the Manner of their being issued) there is not any one of those other Articles, which in the Report, are joined to this Sum of 786,000 *l.* that can be directly charged to this Account.

For who is it that does not perceive a very wide Difference between *Secret Services*, and the other two Articles of *Special*

^a The Enquiry was appointed for ten Years; but upon examining this Account of *Secret Service* in the Report, it appears to include eleven.
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Service, and the *Reimbursement of Expences*. It is perhaps but too probable, that some Part of the Money under these two Heads have been really applied that way. Yet from the Nature of the Thing, very great Sums must have been issued under these Titles, to Purposes very different from those which ought to have given so much Alarm to the Publick.—As it is for this Reason out of our Power to make a just Comparison in this Way, I think it can be stated in no manner more correspondent with the Truth, than as it has been stated here, and if so, the Proposition is sufficiently proved, *that the Charge of Government upon this Head was greater formerly than it is now*.—However, after having thrown this out for the impartial Consideration of the Publick, I will, for the sake of Argument, and to prevent all Possibility of Cavil, admit both these Articles to be added to the Head of *Secret Service*, by which it will be augmented, though not fairly to 1,264,250 l. 15 s. 10 d.

But after this Concession I will venture to say, as to the other three Articles, *viz.* that to the Solicitor of the Treasury, that of the Allowance of 3000 l. *per Ann.* to each of the Secretaries of State, and that of the Money issued to Authors and Printers, it is impossible, with any Candour, to bring them into the Charge of the *Secret Service*, and for the following Reasons:

Because as to the *first* Sum to the Solicitor, it is given always upon Account, *viz.* for Crown Prosecutions, and other necessary, obvious, and warrantable Occasions of Government, of which the Committee themselves were so well aware, that they have themselves deducted that Sum from the grand Total.

As to the *Second*, which regards the Secretaries of State, this is in effect the Appointment of an Office, and stands justly exceptionable in this Comparison, the rather, because it was made a distinct Article from that of *Secret Service* in all Times, and is particularly so in the State of the Revenue at the Revolution, by which this Parallel is made, being not included in the annual Sum of 89,968 l. 8 s. 2 d. $\frac{3}{4}$ to which the *Secret Service* then amounted.

With regard to the *Third*, it is rather a Matter to be laughed at than considered seriously.--In the Nature of the thing, it is by no means a *Secret Service*: And in its Consequences, especially considering the Authors and their Productions, no Man will say, that it affected the Publick in the Way, which can only give the People any Right to concern themselves about the Disposition of the Civil List.--It would be extremely hard, if the Crown might not be allowed the same Privilege of the Pen, which is allowed to any private Man, and certainly no Minister can be censured, if by Permission of the Prince, and even by
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the Assistance of his private Purse, he makes use of the same Liberty of the Press to defend the Measures of his Government, which the Subject, with Impunity, employs whenever he thinks proper, (and of late, with outrageous Licence,) to censure and confound it.

As the Sums issued therefore upon these three Articles cannot be added by any just Pretence; after making Concessions, with the utmost Latitude, against our own Argument, the Account will stand in this Manner:

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Total of Money issued for Secret Service in eleven Years, from 1731 to 1741, inclusive - - - - -	}	1,264,250	15 10
Total of Monies issued under the Head of Secret Service for a like Term be- fore the Revolution - - -			
		989,652	10 06½
Balance upon eleven Years		274,598	5 3¾
Annual Charges of Secret Service, at a Medium of eleven Years from 1731 to 1741 - - - - -	}	114,931	16 10½
Annual Charge before the Revolution -			
		89,968	8 2¼
Annual Balance		24,963	8 8

Which annual Sum of *Twenty-four thousand nine hundred and sixty-three Pounds eight Shillings and eight Pence*, is the whole Encrease of the Expence of the Civil List upon this Head, after a Term little short of threescore Years, made up in a way of Accounting, the most partial and most favourable to those, who with a false and dangerous Opinion to prevail, which even upon this State cannot prevail hereafter with any *reasonable Man*.

For every such Man will consider this Matter as it ought only to be considered, that is, upon the Foot of an *Influence acquired by the Crown over the Independency of the Subject*, in proportion to the Sums applied in secret Gratuities to the Members of the Legislature, more now than in former Times; and every such Man will form a Judgment to himself, and create an equitable Balance, not only upon the Quantum of the Money applied in Secret Service, but will take into his Aid some farther Considerations, viz. *whether that Part of Secret Service, which is necessary to all Government, (because as the Committee confess in the Report, No Form of Government can subsist without a Power of employing*

Service, and the *Reimbursement of Expences*. It is perhaps but too probable, that some Part of the Money under these two Heads have been really applied that way. Yet from the Nature of the Thing, very great Sums must have been issued under these Titles, to Purposes very different from those which ought to have given so much Alarm to the Publick.—As it is for this Reason out of our Power to make a just Comparison in this Way, I think it can be stated in no manner more correspondent with the Truth, than as it has been stated here, and if so, the Proposition is sufficiently proved, *that the Charge of Government upon this Head was greater formerly than it is now*.—However, after having thrown this out for the impartial Consideration of the Publick, I will, for the sake of Argument, and to prevent all Possibility of Cavil, admit both these Articles to be added to the Head of *Secret Service*, by which it will be augmented, though not fairly to 1,264,250 *l.* 15 *s.* 10 *d.*

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	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Total of Money issued for Secret Service in eleven Years, from 1731 to 1741, inclusive - - - - -	1,264,250	15	10
Total of Monies issued under the Head of Secret Service for a like Term be- fore the Revolution - - -			
Balance upon eleven Years	274,598	5	3½
Annual Charges of Secret Service, at a Medium of eleven Years from 1731 to 1741 - - - - -	114,931	16	10½
Annual Charge before the Revolution -			
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Which annual Sum of *Twenty-four thousand nine hundred and sixty-three Pounds eight Shillings and eight Pence*, is the whole Encrease of the Expence of the Civil List upon this Head, after a Term little short of threescore Years, made up in a way of Accounting, the most partial and most favourable to those, who with a false and dangerous Opinion to prevail, which even upon this State cannot prevail hereafter with any *reasonable Man*.

For every such Man will consider this Matter as it ought only to be considered, that is, upon the Foot of an *Influence acquired by the Crown over the Independency of the Subject*, in proportion to the Sums applied in secret Gratuities to the Members of the Legislature, more now than in former Times ; and every such Man will form a Judgment to himself, and create an equitable Balance, not only upon the Quantum of the Money applied in Secret Service, but will take into his Aid some farther Considerations, viz. *whether that Part of Secret Service, which is necessary to all Government, (because as the Committee confess in the Report, No Form of Government can subsist without a Power of*
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employing Publick Money for Services which are from their Nature secret, and ought always to remain so,) must not unavoidably be, from the Circumstances of Time, greater than it was formerly ; and again, *whether* the same Degree of Influence can be acquired in these Times by the same Sums.

Now these Things being thus candidly considered, it will appear, that our Engagements with Foreign Powers, the Difficulties of the Age we live in, and the Distractions of *Europe* have been infinitely greater since the Revolution than they were before ; that our Secret Service in Foreign Courts must have therefore been greatly more expensive than it was at that Period ; and the Prices of Intelligence undoubtedly much higher than formerly they were ; for Things of this Nature go always on encreasing, and the Value of Money is become greatly less in every Part of *Europe*.

Add to this, that the late Enquiry was confined to a Time of Peace, and a Time of very intricate Negociation (the Prudence or Imprudence of which is not under our Consideration in this Question) during which, Expences of this kind have no established Provision, as they have in time of War ; they have then an extraordinary Allowance of 10,000 *l. per Annum*, besides a Deduction of Two and a half *per Cent.* out of the Pay of all the Foreign Forces in the Service of *Great Britain*, of which we have already had Occasion to make some mention in another Place : And this (as appears by the famous Report of the Commissioners for stating the public Accounts, at the latter End of the Queen's Reign, 1712) amounted in the same Term of eleven Years, to 393,366 *l. 9s. 7d.* over and above the Expences of the Civil Government under the same Head, which could not fail in some measure to be lessened by it.

Upon the whole, leaving it to every Man of Candour to determine how far the two Articles of Money issued to Special Service, and to reimburse Expences, may be allowed to have their Place in this Account, and submitting to every Man of Sense and Candour the Difference of the Times, the Deduction of 100,000 *l.* out of the *Civil List* for the Prince of *Wales*, the Circumstances of all our Foreign Affairs, and one thing more, which is hardly decent to be touch'd upon, but by way of Supposition, that if there be Corruption at home, its Wages must be much higher than they were heretofore, it is impossible to deny, but that the Property of the Crown, or in other Words, the *Civil List*, is, not only not really increased, but that it can by no means operate upon the Constitution in any Degree equal to what it might have done formerly, and therefore that the Power of the Crown is not in this Respect augmented in

in proportion to the Power of the People, but in fact diminished greatly.

We should in the next place examine this Point, upon the Footing of *the Crown Influence from additional Employments*. But this will receive a sufficient Answer under the next Head; with which it is so much connected, that it will be most proper to blend them both in one common Consideration.

We therefore proceed to the third and last Point, *viz.* the Encrease of the Power of the Crown, *by positive Laws in favour of the Prerogative*. But here I conceive it beyond the Industry of *Faction* itself to discover any one Circumstance in which Prerogative has been extended.--On the other hand, it is most happy and most notorious, that Prerogative is within the last Century reduced to such a Point, that no rational Man can deny, but that we have gone even farther than, in the Opinion of the most eminent Writers upon Government, is necessary to the Preservation of the Constitution of any Country: To this end, according to that famous Maxim laid down by *Machia-vel*, *Government must be frequently brought back to its first Principles*; but from the Period of the Restoration, we have not only constantly been employed in paring away those Luxuriances of Power in the Crown, which had been insensibly growing from the Conquest, or at least from the Reign of King *John*, till they had in a manner over-shaded all the Liberties of the People; but we have actually taken away many of the most important Branches, to which the Crown had been entitled from the very Beginning of our Constitution: Of which it cannot be improper upon this Occasion to enumerate a few.

First then, the Crown, from the Accession of *William I.* by the Establishment of the feudal Tenures was undoubtedly entitled to such a Degree of Influence, as went incomparably farther in every Respect, and in every Light in which it can possibly be considered, to create an universal Dependence in every other Branch of the Legislature, than any other Circumstance of human Invention, and much less any later Charges in the Constitution, were they as real as they are imaginary, could possibly do: The greatest Part of the whole Kingdom, (besides what was yet more immediately belonging to the Crown as its Domain,) was held *in capite* of the King; and by Virtue of this Tenure, the Crown enjoyed the following Prerogatives;

1. *The Profits of the whole Estate of every Family (as well of the Lords as of the Commons) during the Minority of every Heir.*
2. *The Right to dispose of the Profits of such Estates to whom it pleased.*
3. *The Guardianship of every such Heir, and the Power*

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of delegating that Trust to any other Person. 4. The Right to dispose of the Heir or Heiress of any such Family, during the Minority, in Marriage. 5. A Title to one Year's Profit of the Estate, in Cases where there was no Minority, before Possession could be taken by the next Heir.—These, with many more of a like Nature, were some of the Crown Prerogatives, which existed legally in the Constitution of this Country from the Beginning of this Government, till about eighty Years ago, and if they are well weighed, it is impossible not to see what prodigious Means of Influence they afforded to the Crown. What Revenue, what Employments, what Civil List could furnish out Matter of such extensive Obligation? What noble Family in the one House of Parliament, or what Man of great Estate in the other, but might be either tempted or necessitated to court its Favour? What Struggles would the Virtue even of a *Broad-bottom Patriot* undergo, contending with the Offer of the *Wardship* of a Duke of *Bedford*, or the *Custodiam* of a *Polham* Estate, during a Minority of fifteen or sixteen Years? In what Man is the *Amor Patriæ* so constant, passionate, and fond, that he could coldly look upon the Charms of a beautiful young Woman kindly tendered to his Arms by a first Minister, with the Titles and Inheritance of a Duke of *Marlborough*? Again, what would be the Consequence of an Education wholly directed by Tutors and Guardians appointed by the Crown, upon all the Men of Property in the Kingdom? what the Effect of Gratitude upon the Minds of Gentlemen, in whose behalf the Crown should wave some Parts of this Prerogative?—in favour of whom the Crown should remit its Title to the Profits of the Minor's Estate? or leave it in Trust to be improved by the nearest Relation for the Heir? or decline to take the Relief, or one Year's Profit, to which, even in Cases of no Minority, it was entitled? From hence, it may be worth considering whether that is quite a constitutional Principle, which has been laid down with so much Confidence of late, and in so vast Latitude, that the Crown ought to have no Degree of Influence upon the Legislature; the Fact certainly was the direct contrary:—Our Ancestors intended the Power of their Kings to be *real*, and they knew that without some Degree of Influence that Power would be but in Name;—their Idea was to balance the *Popular* by the *Regal*: not, as it has manifestly been of late, to put all the Weights into the *Popular Scale*: To the People they gave the sole Power of granting Money, and a Title to Resistance in Cases of extraordinary and violent Extremity; a nominal Power could not ballance these great Privileges; they therefore gave the Crown a great Revenue, the sole Management of the publick Money, the

Disposition

Disposition of all Employments, in fine, *the Means of General Obligation to the Subject*; again, to ballance the Title of Resistance in the People, they armed the Crown with *Powers of Confiscation*, and even *some degree of Influence in the Trials* of those, who should rashly or unjustly take up Arms against it; these Prerogatives became at length abused, and have therefore been wisely and justly in many important Instances curtail'd, (while all the former Privileges of the People yet remain with very great Additions.) Among the rest this great one, arising from the feudal Tenures, was totally abolished in the Year 1661. By which one Act, the Spirit of this Constitution received so great an Alteration, that few are even yet sensible of all the Consequences, that either have happened, or will unavoidably result from it, in favour of the popular Interest in this Country.

The next great Encrease of Privilege to the People, was from the Act of *Habeas Corpus*, which was passed in 1673-4; a Law of inestimable Security to the Liberty of the Subject.

By the Revolution in 1688, the whole Government was purged at once, of all Excrescencies of Prerogative, that had been growing from its first Institution: By the very Act of the Expulsion of King *James II.* and his Line, confirmed, as it afterwards was, by Law, the People acquired a right, which had never been allowed in the Constitution of this Country. In the famous Charter of King *John*, the Barons never went so far, it was there decreed that in Cases of the last Necessity, the Publick might distress the Crown, by all Manner of Means, *viz.* by the Seizure and Sequestration of its Castles, Lands, and Possessions till the publick Grievances should be redressed: *distringent & gravabunt nos modis omnibus quibus poterunt, scilicet per captionem castrorum, terrarum, possessionem, donec fuerint emendatum, &c.* But there was a strict Exception to the Persons of the King, the Queen, and the Issue of the Royal Family, *salvâ Personâ nostrâ, & Reginae nostræ, & Liberatorum nostrorum*; there was an express Condition to save the Rights of the Succession; the Crown was not to forfeit for its exorbitant Proceedings, the People were to return to their Allegiance again, so soon as these Exorbitances were redressed, *cum fuerit emendatum intendunt nobis sicut prius fecerunt.* This Principle of an *indefeasible Hereditary Right* (for it was no less) destroyed the Effect of all the strong Provisions of *Resistance* perscribed at the same time; the Law was severely worded, but void of a sufficient Penalty to enforce it; a temporary Suspension of the Regal Authority was the only Penalty: The Crown soon found how to avail itself of this Defect; their Attempts upon the People were offensive, the Resistance of the People defensive only; this was contending

upon very unequal Terms ;—the Crown had never much to fear ; but whenever Publick Liberty was invaded the People run the Risk of losing all ;—the Crown, if unsuccessful, suffered nothing but a Disappointment, and had nothing to do but to quit the Prosecution of its Views for that Time. It was then restored again to what it was before, with the same Means of renewing the Attempt upon the first favourable Opportunity. The People it is true, have formerly gone further, and were under the Necessity to do it, but when they did it, they acted not upon the Principles of the Law of *England* ; they were obliged to have Recourse to that grand Principle of the Law of Nations, * *Datâ facultate datur jus facultatem tuendi*. Yet this was but lamely understood by the Bulk of a People, ever tender of their Laws, and, like the Bulk of every other People, little able to reason upon higher Principles ; from hence the Crown derived so great an Advantage that for the greater Part of the last Century our Liberties were brought into continual Hazard ; it was the Revolution alone, and the Principles established then, that could have possibly preserved us. The Doctrine of *Hereditary Right* in this extravagant Extent was taken away ; some positive Cases were enacted by Law where the Crown shall forfeit. This has given a Blow to Prerogative, which it can never recover.

And so far had we dwindled from the Virtue and Spirit of our Forefathers, that even that Provision of *Resistance*, which had been formerly made to ballance this Prerogative of *indefeasible Hereditary Right*, (insufficient as we have shewn it to have been,) was actually wholly given up at the Restoration, by the Oath prescribed to be taken in the * *Act for well Governing and Regulating of Corporations* ; which was in these Words : *I A.B. do declare and believe that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, and that I do abhor that traitorous Position, of taking Arms, by his Authority, against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him. So help me God.*—It was further disclaimed in the Preamble to the A&T of Attainder *Anno 12 Car. II. cap. 30.* in the following Words,—*And be it hereby declared, that by the Undoubted and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor both together, in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the People collectively, nor representatively, nor any other Persons whatsoever, ever had, have, hath,*

* *Grotius de Jure Belli ac Pacis, lib. II. Stat. 2. Cap. 1.*

* *Anno 13 Car. II*

or ought he have any coercive Power over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm.

It was again disclaimed, in the Preambles of different Acts relating to the Militia, about the same time, in these Words, *That both, or either of the Houses of Parliament, can, or may, lawfully raise or levy any War, Offensive or Defensive, against his Majesty, his Heirs, or lawful Successors.*

How far this Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*, without any Reserve, struck at the Liberties of the People, is manifest enough; but how far the very Act of the Revolution has given the Limitation to its Extravagance, we have already observed; and as to the Oath before mentioned, it was directly abrogated by the Act of the 1st of *William and Mary*, cap. 8.

Again, by two Acts, the one, *An Act for Safety and Preservation of his Majesty's Person and Government*, Anno 13 Car. II. cap. 1.—And another, *For preventing Abuses in Printing, &c.* Anno 13 and 14 Car. II. cap. 33. the Liberty of the Press was totally restrained. These Laws were suffered to expire.

By an Act against Tumults and Disorders, Anno 13 Car. II. cap. 5. the Subject had been, in effect, deprived of that Right of Petitioning either the Crown or Parliament; for it was enacted—*That, from and after the first of August 1661, no Person or Persons whatsoever, shall solicit, labour, or procure the GETTING OF HANDS, or OTHER CONSENT of any Persons above the Number of TWENTY OR MORE, to any Petition, Complaint, Remonstrance, Declaration, or other Address to the King, or both or either Houses of Parliament, for Alterations of Matters established by Law, in Church or State, or accompanied, at any one time, with above the Number of TEN PERSONS. And that no Person or Persons exceeding TEN, as aforesaid, shall present any publick or private Grievance or Complaint, to any Member or Members of Parliament after his Election, &c. under Penalty of 100l. in Money, and Imprisonment for three Months, without Bail or Mainprize.*

This was virtually repealed by the Act, declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, Anno 1 William and Mary, Sess. 2. cap. 2. wherein it was Enacted; *That it is the Right of the Subject to petition, and all Commitments and Prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.*

By this Act the Constitution was farther restored in very many, and improved in other Instances as follow.

1. It was enacted, *That the pretended Power of suspending Laws, or the Execution of Laws by regal Authority, without Consent of Parliament, is illegal.*

2. That the Commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other Commissioners and Courts of the like Nature are illegal and pernicious.

3. That levying Money for, or to the Use of the Crown by Pretence of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for longer time, or in other Manner, than the same is, or shall be granted, is illegal and pernicious.

4. That the raising or keeping a Standing Army within the Kingdom (in Time of Peace) unless it be with Consent of Parliament, is against Law.

5. That the Subjects, which are Protestants, may have Arms for their Defence, suitable to their Conditions, and as allowed by Law.

6. That Elections of Members of Parliament ought to be free.

7. That the Freedom of Speech and Debates, or Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or Place out of Parliament.

8. That excessive Bail ought not to be required, nor excessive Fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual Punishments inflicted.

9. That Juries ought to be duly impannelled and returned, and Juries, which pass upon Men in Trials for High Treason, ought to be Freeholders.

10. That all Grants and Promises of Fines and Forfeitures of particular Persons, before Conviction, are illegal and void.

11. That for Redress of all Grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of the Laws, Parliaments ought to be held frequently.

12. That all Dispensations passed by non obstante to Acts of Parliament, except in Cases provided for by Law, shall be void.

13. That every Person or Persons, that is, are, or shall be reconciled to the Church of Rome, or shall marry a Papist, shall be excluded, and be for ever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the Crown and Government of this Realm, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, or any Part of the same, or to have, use, or exercise any legal Power, Authority or Jurisdiction within the same, and in all and every such Case or Cases, the People of these Realms, shall be, and are hereby absolved of their Allegiance, and the Crown shall descend to the next Protestant Heir.

This was followed by another Law, cap. 10. which took away the Revenue arising from *Hearth-Money*, with all the Powers attendant on that Collection; which, as it was justly expressed in the Words of the Preamble, was in itself not only a great Oppression to the poorer Sort, but a Badge of Slavery upon the

the whole People, exposing every Man's House to be entered into and searched, at Pleasure, by Persons unknown to him.

In the same Sessions of Parliament (*cap. 27*) one very great and considerable Part of this Kingdom was entirely redeemed from a Jurisdiction utterly inconsistent with the Freedom of a *British Subject*, the Court of the President and Council of the *Marches Wales*, which had been established in 34 and 35 of *Henry VIII.* and under which that Province had been governed till this Act passed, was totally abolished, and the People of that Country allowed to enjoy the common Benefit of the *English Law and Liberty*; the *Proceedings and Decrees* of that Court, having been (as it is recited in the Preamble) an intolerable Burden to the Subject within the said Principality, contrary to the great Charter, the known Laws of the Land, and the Birth-right of the Subject; and the Means to introduce an arbitrary Power and Government.

In the 2d of *William and Mary*, *cap. 7.* a very unconstitutional Prerogative, (for so it was in effect, though not directly exerted under the Name of the Crown,) was repealed; and it was enacted, *That whereas the Election of Members to serve in Parliament ought to be free, and whereas the Wardens of the Cinque Ports pretended to, and claimed as of Right, a Power of nominating and recommending to each of the Cinque Ports, the two ancient Towns, and their respective Members, one Person whom they ought to elect, to serve as a Baron or Member of Parliament for such Port, &c. all such Nomination or Recommendation shall be void.*

In the same Year (*cap. 8.*) the Judgment of *Quo Warranto* against the City of *London*, was reversed—its Liberties regrant-ed, and made a Corporation.

By an Act in 1694, the 5th of *William and Mary*, *cap. 7.* for Granting to their Majesties certain Rates and Duties, upon Salt, Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for the raising of One Million towards carrying on the War with France. This Clause was obtained, *Provided always, and be it enacted, &c. That no Member of the House of Commons shall, at any time, be concerned directly or indirectly, or any other in Trust for him, in the Farming, Collecting, or Managing any of the Sums of Money, Duties, or other Aids granted to their Majesties by this Act, or that hereafter shall be granted by any other Acts of Parliament; except the Commissioners of the Treasury, Customs, and Excise, not exceeding the present Number in each Office, and the Commissioners of the Land-Tax.*—But the Customs and Excise were afterwards excluded, as we shall presently come to shew, and continue so to be.

Again, by another Act the same Session, cap. 20. for Granting several Rates and Duties upon Tonnage of Ships and Vessels, and upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, to raise one Million five hundred thousand Pounds, &c. It was provided farther—That no Officer or Person whatsoever concerned in any manner with the Collection or Management of the Excise, shall, by Word, Message, or Writing, or in any other manner, endeavour to influence any Voter in Elections, under Penalty of 100 l. and of Incapacity of holding any Office or Place of Trust under the Crown.

In the 7th of William III. cap. 3. that famous Law was passed, which put the Lives, as well as Liberties of the Subject, upon so happy a Foundation, that no People upon the known Earth, can boast of such Security. I mean, the Act for Regulating Trials in Cases of Treason and Misprision of Treason; which contained the following Clauses.

1. That the Persons accused should be entitled first to have a Copy of the Indictment five Days before the Trial.
2. To make their Defence by Council and Witnesses upon Oath, the Council to be chosen by themselves, and to have free Access to the Prisoner at all reasonable Hours.
3. Not to be indicted, tried, or attainted but by the Oath of two Witnesses, and one Witness to one Act of Treason, and another to another, not to be deemed two Witnesses.
4. Persons outlawed, upon their Return to stand Trial, to have the Benefit of this Act.
5. No Person to be indicted or prosecuted, unless within three Years of the Offence.
6. Persons tried, to have Copies of the Pannel two Days before Trial.
7. Such Persons to have Process of the Court where they shall be tried, to compel their Witnesses to appear for them at their Trials.
8. No Evidence to be admitted, or given of any Overt Act, not expressly laid in this Indictment, against any Person or Persons whatsoever.

And whereas the Commons are to be tried by a Jury of Twelve, who must all agree in one Verdict to condemn any Man, and the Lords had till then lain under two great Disadvantages, first that one Major Vote was sufficient to condemn a Peer in Cases of this Nature; and secondly, that the Crown had the Power of nominating a select Number; appointing and excepting what Peers it pleased to sit in Judgment, it was then enacted, that their Trials should be made for the future by the whole Body of the Peerage; and that every Peer should be duly summoned at least twenty Days before, and to appear and vote at such Trial.

In the same Year, *Sess. 1. cap. 4.* the Act was passed *For preventing Charge and Expence in Elections of Members to serve in Parliament*, providing that Candidates after the Teste of the Writ, or after any Seat in Parliament should become vacant for any Country, City, Borough, &c. giving or promising any Present or Reward for being elected, to any Person having Right of Vote, shall be incapable to serve in Parliament for any such Place as aforesaid.

This was soon after followed by another Act of the same Sessions, *For preventing false and double Returns*, cap. 7. containing the following Clauses, 1. *That in Case of false and double Returns, the Party aggrieved may sue in any Court of Westminster against any Officers or Persons, and every one of them, and recover double Damages, and full Costs of Suit.* 2. *Whosoever shall make, or give any Contract, Security, Promise, Bond, Gift or Reward, to procure a false or double Return, shall forfeit 300 l.* 3. *The Clerk of the Crown to make Entry of all Returns within six Days after their Receipt, under Penalty of 500 l. and Forfeiture of his Office.* 4. *All Returns contrary to the last Determination of the House of Commons, to be void, and to be deemed false, and this Act to continue seven Years.*

By the Act in the 11th and 12th of William, *For granting an Aid to his Majesty out of the forfeited Estates, &c.* it was enacted, *That no Member of Parliament shall after the 24th of June 1700, be a Commissioner or Farmer of the Excise, or a Commissioner of Appeals, or Controller or Auditor of the said Duty.*

In the same Year, cap. 7. an Act was passed *For preventing irregular Proceedings of Sheriffs and other Officers, in making Returns of Members*, provided, *That the Returns shall be made to the Clerk of the Crown, within fourteen Days after the Election, &c. under Penalty of 500 l.*

In the same Sessions, cap. 12. an Act passed to punish the Governors of Plantations, in this Kingdom, for Crimes committed by them in the Plantations, by which the most remote Subjects of the British Empire obtained the Protection of the English Laws against Oppressions, which were before that Time without a Remedy.

The next Addition of Privilege and Security to the People, and Diminution of Prerogative, was obtained by the Act for the farther Limitation of the Crown, &c. Anno 12 William III. *Sess. 1. cap. 2.* which was then settled upon the House of Hanover; in this it was provided farther,

1. *That whosoever shall hereafter come to the Possession of this Crown shall join in Communion with the Church of England, as by Law established.* (The Act of 1 William and Mary, *Sess. 2. cap.*

cap. 2. before-mentioned had provided against the Admission of any Papist, it was now, for the absolute Security of the Religion of this Country, provided, that no Dissenter from that Religion, of any Denomination whatsoever, should be King of England.)

2. That in case the Crown and Imperial Dignity of this Realm shall hereafter come to any Person not being a Native of this Kingdom, this Nation be not obliged to engage in any War for the Defence of any Dominions or Territories, which do not belong to the Crown of England, without Consent of Parliament.

3. That after the said Limitation shall take Effect as aforesaid, no Persons born out of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the Dominions thereunto belonging (although he be naturalized or made a Denizen, except such as are born of English Parents) shall be capable to be of the Privy Council, or a Member of either House of Parliament, or to enjoy any Office or Place of Profit or Trust either Civil or Military, or to have any Grant of Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments, from the Crown to himself, or to any other or others in Trust for him.

4. That after the said Limitation shall take Effect as aforesaid, Judges-Commissioners shall be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint*, and their Salaries ascertained and established; but that upon Address of both Houses of Parliament, it may be lawful to remove them.

5. That no Pardon under the Great Seal of England be pleadable to an Impeachment by the Commons in Parliament.

6. That all Laws and Statutes of this Realm, for securing the established Religion, and the Rights and Liberties of the People, be ratified and confirmed.

Another Improvement of our Constitution was made immediately after in that Act, for preventing any Inconvenience, that may happen by Privilege of Parliament, Anno 12 Gul. III. cap. 3. by which it was enacted, 1. That Actions may be commenced against either Peer or Member of Parliament in the Interval of Parliament. 2. That after Prerogation the Court may give Judgment. 3. That Persons may have Process against Peer or Member of Parliament after the Dissolution of Parliament, and may exhibit any Bill or Complaint against any Peer or Member of Parliament, and sequester the Parties Estate. 4. Plaintiffs, who are prevented from Prosecution by any Privilege of Parliament, not to be barred by any Statute of Limitation.

The next Act of the same Nature was for adding a farther Term to that formerly mentioned of 7 Will. III. cap. 7. for preventing false and double Returns of Members to serve in Parliament.

ment for seven Years, which was then continued for eleven Years longer.

The last that we shall mention of this Great and Happy Reign, is of the same Year, 11 and 12. *Will. III. cap. 10. A. D. 1700*, entitled *An Act for granting an Aid to his Majesty, for defraying the Expences of his Navy, Guards and Garrisons, &c.* in which it was provided, That after the Dissolution of that Parliament, no Member of the House of Commons should be a Commissioner of the Customs, or capable of holding any Office in that Branch of the Revenue, nor any Person concerned therein should directly or indirectly influence any Election, under Penalty of being incapacitated to hold any Office or Place of Trust under the Crown.

We now come to the Reign of Queen Anne, during which the Prerogative still declined, and the Liberties of the People were augmented and farther secured, for by *An Act for the better Support of her Majesty's Household, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, Anno 1. Annæ, Stat. 1. cap. 7.* it was decreed, that for preserving the Revenues of the Crown, all Grants of Manors, Lands, &c. made by the Crown for more than thirty-one Years or three Lives, or all Tenements for more than fifty Years, should be void, by which the Crown was for ever deprived of that great Means of Influence, and of burdening the Publick Revenues by Gratifications to their Favourites.

Anno 2 and 3 Annæ, cap. 18. it was enacted, that any Action or Suit shall and may be commenced and prosecuted in any of her Majesty's Courts of Westminster, against any Officer of the Revenue, or any other Place of Publick Trust, no such Action to be impeached or stayed or delayed on Pretence of Privilege of Parliament, either with Respect to a Peer or Member of the House of Commons, and this was manifestly a great additional Security to the Subject against Power and Oppression.

In the Year 1704, 4 *Annæ cap. 8.* *An Act* passed for the better Security of her Majesty's Person and Government, and of the Succession to the Crown of England in the Protestant Line: By which the Nation acquired the following Advantages.

1. That the Parliament shall not be dissolved by the Death of any King or Queen of England, but that it shall continue six Months after; that it shall immediately convene, meet, and sit, whether adjourned or prorogued, and in case there should be no Parliament in being, then the last preceding Parliament shall immediately convene, and sit, and be a Parliament, to continue, as aforesaid, to all Intents and Purposes.—A Proviso which, if rightly considered, must appear to be infinitely wise, and may, in future Times, prove of the last Importance, to bring the Constitution back again,

again, if it should ever be interrupted or unhinged in any Arbitrary Reign hereafter.

2. *The Privy Council, the Great Officers, and all Offices, Civil or Military, shall continue likewise for six Months.*

3. *The Privy Council, immediately after the Decease of the King or Queen, to proclaim the next Protestant Successor, under Penalty of High-Treason.*—The Benefit of which three Clauses most manifestly appeared upon the Death of the late Queen Anne.

It may be expected of me to take Notice in this Place, that by this Act two Clauses in the Act of the 12th and 13th of William III. cap. 2. the first, *Concerning the signing of Privy Counsellors to all Acts of State*; and the second, *Containing a general Exclusion of all Offices and Places of Profit, and all Persons holding Pensions from the Crown, from sitting in the House of Commons* were repealed; because upon this Repeal the Malecontents have taken their only plausible Handle, to insinuate, that our Constitution has been impaired.—But this will admit of a very easy Answer—for, in Fact, this never was the Constitution; these two Provisions were only made *in futuro*, had never actually taken Place, were repealed long before they were to be in Force, viz. in four Years after they were first made, and at a Period of Time, when that Government and Family they were intended to restrain, had no Power or Influence, in this Country, to procure their Repeal, and near ten Years before their Accession to the Throne.—Nay farther, as to the second Clause concerning Pensions, it has actually been restored since that Accession, as we shall shew in its due Place.

4. *It was enacted by this Law, that from and after the Dissolution, or sooner Determination of that Parliament, no Person who shall have, in his own Name, or in the Name of any Person or Persons in Trust for him, or for his Benefit, any new Office, or Place of Profit whatsoever under the Crown, which, at any Time hereafter, shall be created or erected, nor any Commissioner or Sub Commissioner of Prizes, and Secretary or Receiver of the Prizes, any Comptroller of the Accounts of the Army, any Commissioner of Transports, any Commissioner of the Sick and Wounded, any Agent for any Regiment, nor any Commissioner for Wine Licences, nor any Governor, or Deputy Governor of any of the Plantations, nor any Commissioners of the Navy employed in any of the Out-Ports, nor any Person having any Pension from the Crown during Pleasure, shall be elected, sit, or vote, as a Member of the House of Commons.*

5. *No Office to be split into Commission farther than already done before the first Day of the Sessions of Parliament 1705.*

6. *All*

6. *All Members of Parliament accepting any Place of Profit under the Crown, during the Time of their being Members, their Elections to become immediately void, but capable of being re-elected, if the People should think proper to chuse them again under that Circumstance.*

—This Clause was enacted in the Place of that which we have already observed to have been repealed by this Act, whereby *Persons holding any Employments were totally excluded.*—This Provision being thought much more consistent with the Liberty of the Subject, both *Elected* and *Electors.*—And, in the Opinion of that Time, as great a Security as could be desired by any People, since it put it out of the Power of the Representatives to deceive their Constituents, and left it to their own Option, whether they would confide their Interests again in the Hands of the same Person, after that Change of his Condition.

7. *A Penalty of 500l. to be recovered by any Person who shall sue any Member who shall sit contrary to this Act, and the Election of such Member to be void.*

Greatly as the Prerogative and Influence of the Crown was reduced by this Law, it is much to be questioned, whether its Benefits exceeded that which I shall next mention; *Viz. The Act of the 7th of Anne, cap. 21. for Improving the Union of the two Kingdoms.*—For by this Act, 1st, *That inestimable Law of Treasons before mentioned, was extended to that Part of Great Britain called Scotland.* 2dly, *It was enacted, That after the Death of the Person called the Pretender, when any Person shall be indicted for High Treason, or Misprision of Treason, a List of the Witnesses that shall be produced on the Trial for proving the said Indictment, and of the Jury, mentioning the Names, Professions, and Places of Abode of the said Witnesses and Jurors, shall be also given at the same Time that the Copy of the Indictment is delivered to the Party indicted, and that Copies of all the Indictments for the Offences aforesaid, with such Lists, shall be delivered to the Party indicted, ten Days before the Trial, and in Presence of two or more credible Witnesses.* And 3dly, *That after the Decease of the said Pretender, and at the End of the Term of three Years, (after the Succession of the House of Hanover to the Throne) no Attainder for Treason shall extend to the disinheriting of any Heir, nor to the Prejudice of the Right or Title of any Person or Persons, other than the Right or Title of the Offender or Offenders, during his, her or their natural Lives only, and that it shall and may be lawful to every Person or Persons, to whom the Right or Interest of any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, after the Death of any such Offender or Offenders should or might have appertained, if no such Attainder had been, to enter into the same:* Which noble Provision for the Lives and Property of the Subject,

ject, taken in all its Consequences, is not to be found in any other Government upon Earth.

In 1710, 9 *Anna*, cap. 5. the Act was passed for securing the Freedom of Parliaments, and the further qualifying the Members to sit in the House of Commons, appointing a Qualification of 600 l. per Annum for Counties, and 300 l. a Year for Cities and Boroughs. A Provision wholly new in the Constitution of this Country.

In the same Session, cap. 10. it was enacted, That no Post-master or Post-master General, or his or their Deputy or Deputies, or any Person employed by or under him or them, in the receiving, collecting or managing the Revenue of the Post Office, should in any Manner whatsoever persuade or dissuade any Voter for Members to serve in Parliament, under the Penalty of 100 l. and of Disqualification, Disability, and Incapacity of ever bearing, or executing any Office or Place of Trust whatsoever under the Crown.

In the 10th *Anna*, cap. 23. an Act was passed for the more effectual preventing fraudulent Conveyances, in order to multiply Votes for electing Knights of the Shire to serve in Parliament, providing against this Evil by an Oath, and inflicting the Penalty of Perjury upon the Person, either suborning or taking that Oath falsely.

In the 12th of the same Reign, cap. 5. there was an Act of the same Nature, for the better regulating the Elections in Scotland.

And in the same Session, Stat. 1. cap. 15. the Act concerning double Returns, (first made, Anno 7 and 8. Gul. III. cap. 4. for seven Years, then continued as we have observed for eleven Years more, in the 12 *William*, cap. 5.) was made perpetual.

In the First of George I. 1714. cap. 4. It was enacted, That no Person shall be hereafter naturalized, unless in the Bill exhibited for that Purpose, there be a Clause or particular Words inserted to declare, That such Person shall not thereby be enabled to be of the Privy Council, or a Member of either House of Parliament, or to take any Office or Place of Trust, either Civil or Military, or to have any Grant of Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments from the Crown to himself, or any other Person in Trust for him, and that no Bill of Naturalization shall be hereafter received, unless such Clause or Words be first inserted or contained therein.

In the first of the same Reign 1715. Sect. 2. cap. 56. a farther Act was made, to disable any Person from being chuse a Member of sitting or voting in the House of Commons, who has any Pension for any Number of Years from the Crown, and the Penalty of 20 l. for every Day that such Member shall presume to sit or vote

in

in that House: By which Act, the one of the two Clauses before mentioned in the Act of the 12th and 13th of *William*, which was repealed by the 4th of *Anne*, cap. 8. was again restored.

In the second of the present King 1728-9, the Bill for the more effectual preventing Bribery and Corruption in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament was passed into a Law.

And in the first Sessions of this present Parliament, an Act was passed for the farther Limitation of Placemen in the House of Commons, of which we have already had Occasion to speak, by which, after the Expiration or sooner Determination of this present Parliament, among others are excluded the seven Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, the seven Commissioners of the Victualling Office, the Clerk of the Pells, and all the Deputies, Inferior Officers and Clerks of these Commissions, and of the Treasury, Exchequer, Pells, Admiralty, Secretaries of State, and Paymaster of the Forces, (two or three only excepted,) together with the major Part of the Establishment of *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*.—This is that Act, for which the present Administration, instead of Thanks, have been repaid with the vilest Reproaches of the *Faction*, and the most cruel Abuse of their ungrateful Country.

In the same Session passed that Clause in the Bill for *Mutiny and Desertion*, for taking the Power of billeting of Soldiers in the City and Liberty of Westminster, out of the Hands of the High Constable of that City, and placing it with effectual Provisions in the Hands of the petty Constables, by which a very great Abuse and Means of Fraud and Influence were taken away.

We now come in order of time to the last Session of this Parliament, when the Pot-Act, (which was, in effect, an arbitrary Tax, at the Will and under the Direction of the Excise,) was repealed.

And lastly an Act was passed for the further Security of the Freedom of Election in that Part of Great Britain called Scotland.—The four last Acts here mentioned have been gained since the Removal of the late Minister, and in little more than the Space of one Year; yet are the People taught to believe, that they have gained nothing.—*Quos Deus vult perdere demorat.*

The Reader will pardon this long Deduction of popular Laws, which I have here inserted; such a Review can never be tedious to any Man, who sincerely loves his Country; and I am certain that the Recapitulation of those extraordinary Amendments of our Constitution, here presented to their View will greatly contribute to the Peace and Quiet of many honest Men, who in the Passion and Hurry of these Times, have too incon-

inconsiderately suffered themselves to be imposed upon by a groundless Clamour ; without either giving themselves time, or Opportunity to consider seriously how unjust it is.

For whoever will take the Pains to look back upon the Condition of our former Government, and will reflect as he ought to do upon these Laws, and Acquisitions (and many more there are, all tending in some Degree to the same Improvement) and any Man, who will weigh what we have already explained as to the Power of the Crown in its *Civil List*, in its *Employments*, or in its *Prerogative*, if he really means nothing but to preserve this Constitution, must confess that the Liberty and Property of this Nation, never stood in any Period of Time, upon so strong a Basis, repaired in every Breach that Time had made, fortified with additional Pillars of prodigious Security, and every Day encreasing in Solidity by the Effect of Laws, which from the Course of Time and Nature must take Place in a few Years.

From these Reflections it does really appear, that Men betray their Ignorance in the most gross Manner, when they talk in that unmeaning Cant, of the Necessity of bringing back our Constitution to its first Principles, so much the Fashion in these Times ; for I may defy the ablest Man in *England* fairly to give the Instance of any Period in this Government, where the *Power* of the *Crown* stood upon *lower*, or the *Liberty* of the *Subject* upon *higher* Ground than it does at this Day.

Men cannot deny, that *Prerogative* was *reduced*, and the *Constitution* *restored* by the *Revolution* ; they will not venture to do this, because the Falshood would be too glaring, but they have taught the People to think, that all these Amendments of the Letter of our Constitution (if I may so express it) are rendered ineffectual by the Increase of Influence in the Crown, from *additional Revenues*, and *additional Employments*, since that Time. The Fact is totally the Reverse, as we have seen.—Half the Guards and Provisions for the Liberty of the Subject have been acquired long since that Period ; every Reign, and almost every Parliament have made Additions to the Privileges of the People ; insomuch that the People would be manifest Losers, were they to exchange their Constitution for what it was at any one Instant of Time, previous even to the last Session of Parliament : And this would be more or less the Case, were they to go back from Year to Year, from this present Year 1743, to 1066 the *Æra* of the Conquest.

This Revenue of the Crown, which they magnify so much, is demonstrated to be less capable in all Considerations to answer corrupt Purposes, than it was formerly ; and we have already,

ready, as it should seem, all the Laws, that the Wisdom of Man can invent, to lessen its Operation in that way,—If these Laws are not effectual, there is too much Reason to fear that the Remedy is beyond the Power of Law, and that the Evil must arise from the Ambition, which is incident to the Nature of all popular Governments, and to the Opulence of this Country, which Circumstances, coveted by all Nations, and desirable as they justly are upon the whole, were never free from the Inconveniencies of this kind ; have constantly debauched the Morals of every People ; and introduced Corruption, in some degree, wherever they existed.

Those Employments said to be so much encreased since the Revolution, are actually cut off from their Influence upon the Constitution, as far as written Laws can do it, in innumerable Instances.—Since the 5th of *William and Mary*, 1694, no new Employment in the Revenue can be held by any Member of the House of Commons ; since the 4th of *Anne*, 1705, no new Employment whatsoever, excepting in the *Navy* or the *Army*. Some with very good Intentions wish these military Offices to be excluded too. But this Opinion is full of Danger, for whosoever lives to see them *totally* excepted likewise, can rationally expect nothing but a military Government.—We have therefore gained a Guard against any Encrease of this Evil in future, very near as far as it can be prudently desired.—The *Customs*, *Excise*, *Post-Office*, and a Multitude of other Civil Officers, which existed long before the Revolution, (and not, as it is falsely conceived,) of later Institution, have been also weeded out of Parliament.

It is therefore an abominable Imposition upon Mankind to insinuate this Doctrine, neither are the Means of Influence equal, nor do the Laws permit it to be exerted, though the Means did actually exist.

If any thing more or better can be devised to render our Constitution yet more pure, that Man would be very dishonest, who would not endeavour to attain it, — but every Quack Receipt is not a Remedy. The Cure must be chiefly looked for in the Virtue of the People, and much Help it might receive from those, who bellow loudest against Corruption, if they would refuse to pay its Wages at their own Elections ; the Woman once vitiated by one Man, will become an easy Prostitute to any other ; and the Countryman corrupted by the Bribe of a *Patriot*, will undoubtedly make no Scruple afterwards to sell his Vote to any *Ministerial Hireling*.

What I have said upon those Heads, is not intended to deter any honest and well considered Attempts for any farther Amend-

Amendments in our Constitution, if they can be made; but it is intended and ought justly to have its Effect so far as to convince the Publick, that they are deceived, that their Condition is (whatever Imperfections still remain) in fact infinitely more secure than it ever was since we have been a Nation; and that therefore the Impatience expressed by such Numbers is extravagant, and must appear altogether unaccountable to every thinking Man.—Nor is it for this Reason easy for any Man, the best intentioned to the People, to comply with the Humour of these Times, because it is impossible to know what they would be at, what would content them, or what would be the Limits they would prescribe to their Demands.--Nor can *this be known*, nor can *they be trusted*, so long as they found their Opinions upon false Facts, and Doctrines so erroneous, as so evidently these appear to be. I mean not to justify any Faults, that have been, or may be committed in the Conduct of our Affairs; but I mean to moderate that Passion, which misguides them in their Reasonings upon it, which hurries them into such Expectations and Resentments, as must destroy the very Blessing they enjoy by grasping after more than it is their real Interest to have: It must be carried in Remembrance, *that our Constitution is a Monarchy, and though limited, yet that the Crown must be permitted a considerable Share of Power, without which our Government, whatever we may afterwards think fit to call it, will become of another Species, a Species which certainly we are not fitted for, which, as in former Times, we should suffer all the Evils of Confusion in attempting to procure; and which, when procured, we never should be able to maintain.*

Sitting down therefore with Minds grateful and sensible of the very great Advantages we now enjoy beyond what our Forefathers ever knew, let us still entertain all reasonable Views of further Benefit, but without Prejudice or Passion; let us correct the Faults, or even amend the Defects of Government, in all Cases where they are real, and not imaginary, where the Circumstance of Time will suffer it, when we have the Power to do it, and when no worse Inconveniencies would follow from it.--But let us not measure these Faults or Defects by the Clamours of a *Faction*; let us consider, that the Eye of Opposition magnifies every Mite of Power, as much as the Eye of Power diminishes every Object of popular Complaint. Let us therefore, when we enter upon this Work, engage in it with Moderation, and with a candid and wise Reflection, that nothing human can be perfect, that Men will have their Faults as long as they are Men; that we must in Government, as well as in other Things, take the Evil with the Good; and that that Nation is happy upon

upon the whole, where the latter far exceeds the former; this we may safely pronounce of the State in which we live, * *Vitia erunt donec homines, sed neque hæc continua, & meliorum interventus pensantur* : — In this State of things, in such a critical Situation of Affairs abroad, in such a Ferment of the People, as we have lately seen at home, there can be no Wonder, that Men of Sense should desire time to consider seriously what farther Alterations may be made with Safety; we may certainly rest at present without any immediate Fear for Liberty, if not, it is difficult to comprehend how our Ancestors, who fell so short of us, as we have shewn in this respect, preserved their own, or delivered any down to us. — From the Sketch, that has been offered of the last *Place-Bill*, we see that we shall obtain in five Years, and perhaps much sooner, a great additional Security. If there be Truth in the Suggestions of the *Faction*, that every Member of Parliament possessed of an Employment, is byassed by it, and would act differently if he had it not, however falsely they have represented that Bill, it will make a mighty Difference in our future Parliaments. Though this short Period may be thought long, by the Members of a *Faction*, to wait for a Turn of Affairs, that may bring them into Office, it cannot be thought long, by any honest and disinterested Man, to wait for the Benefit of this Constitutional Alteration—Such a Man will consider, that *Excess* in Regulations of this kind, brings equal Danger on the one hand, as *Imperfection* might in Time produce upon the other.—Such a Man would be unwilling to act precipitately in a Matter of this Moment, would proceed by Degrees, would desire to experience the Effect of every one Law of this Nature, before he ventured to promote another—Such a Man will attach himself neither to the *Regal* nor to the *Popular Power*.—He will fix his Attention solely to maintain the true Ballance of this Government.—He will be neither moved by Disappointments from the Crown, nor by Abuses from the People.—He will act resolutely with *either*, when they are *right*.—He will oppose *both* vigorously, in their Turns, when they are *wrong*. — His sole View in Power, or out of Power, will be the Good of his Country.—His Study will be, to support the Crown, without flattering the Prince — And he will consider more the real Service of the People, than their giddy Approbation.—He will neither be fettered by general Maxims, nor tied to any *Utopian* System, but will be governed by Times and Circumstances, of which he will endeavour faithfully to make the best Advantage for the Publick.—Such a Man is a

* *Tacit. Hist. Lib. 4.*

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true

true Patriot, whose Fate it will sometimes be, to appear in the vulgar Apprehension unsteady, when he is most constant, and inconsistent when he is most consistent. This must often be the Case in those Countries, where Characters are won or lost by *Party* rather than by *Principle*: And such is undoubtedly the Case of this Country in which we live.

It is now time to think of drawing towards a Conclusion of this Paper, which has swelled to a greater Size than is common in Works of this kind, but which the Nature of the Thing, and the great Field of Matter I have been obliged to travel thro', have rendered unavoidable. Many Suggestions and fallacious Reasonings have been passed upon the Publick in these confused Times, of which even yet I have taken no Notice.— But I have observed upon those of most Importance, and it would be not only endless, but absurd, to attempt an Answer to many of these Points, upon which the simple Part of the People have been lately entertained.—Perhaps I have rather gone too far in this Attempt already in some Respects; for it is very obvious, that the greater Part of the Arguments employed by the *Faction* against whom I write, are of a Nature, which renders them of all others the most unanswerable,—they have the Property which a great Author ascribes to Nonsense, — *Nonsense*, says he, *stands upon its own Basis, like a Rock of Adamant,—there is no Place about it weaker than another,—the Major and the Minor are of equal Strength,—its Questions admit of no Reply, and its Assertions are not to be invalidated; if it affirms any thing, you cannot lay hold of it; or if it denies, you cannot confute it:—In a Word, there are greater Intricacies in an elaborate and well-written Piece of Nonsense, than in the most profound Tract of School Divinity.*—Such are the Productions of the *Faction* of this Time; and the same Author observes, that of this Nature have always been the Productions of the same Men; nor can we form by any more unerring Rule our first Suspicions of the Nature of any *Faction* in this Country; a *Jacobite Faction*, or a *Tory Party* (which, as we have fully shewn before, is by unavoidable Fatality always led by *Jacobites*, whether they know it or not) eternally hath, doth, will, and must fight in Entrenchments of this kind.

But the present *Faction*, from hence at first naturally suspected, has at length been fully detected, by all their Endeavours to preserve *France*, to sacrifice the House of *Austria*, and to poison the Principles of the People to the Protestant Succession, and to the Family now upon the Throne, by the Arts used to inflame the People, which have been the same that were ever used by the same *Faction*, and by the Tendency of every Point with which they

they goad the People on to Discontent and Dissatisfaction; which Points incontrovertibly appear, when viewed in a true Light, to consist in these three Heads; 1. *The Destruction of the Whigs, and the Elevation of the Tories*; 2. *The Expulsion of the present Royal Family*; 3. *The Change of the Constitution of this Kingdom*. As this is undeniably evinced by the *Deduction* of their *Conduct*, and the *Examination* of their *Principles*, and the *Evidence* of the *Facts* contained in the preceding Pages, every Man of Honesty will think me warranted in this Undertaking to maintain, and every Man of Sense will know, that I have sufficiently maintained, that Proposition, which I laid down in the Beginning of these Papers, as my principal Point to prove, *viz. That the Opposition of this Time is not an Opposition, but a Faction; and that of the most dangerous kind to this Nation.*

And now the Heads of the *Faction* for their last Resource will seek to shelter, and will throw themselves among that general Herd, whom they for a while have led, but they will find no Protection there, they are singled out; the Rest will see whom we have marked, will separate, and retire from the Society of those, with whom they can associate themselves no longer, without the utmost Danger.

We make no Doubt, that they will labour to revive the false Opinion, that the Principles of their *Faction* are not to be apprehended; it is the constant publick Topic of Discourse with *Jacobites*, that there is not a *Jacobite* in *England*. But they have opened themselves too far, their Views have been too glaring, they have unmasked too soon, and it avails nothing for a Man to deny *the Name*, while he pursues *the Thing*; it will be hard to convince a rational Being, that a Party, driving at this furious Rate, as we have seen, in such a Road, can have any other View; were it for Preferment and Employments only, it is a villainous Pursuit, when followed by these Means, and without enquiring who are the Men, how many, that are actuated by the *first*, or that concur on Account of the *second* View, it is fully sufficient for the Publick, that the Conduct of the *Faction* manifestly leads to this fatal End.

But at the same Time that we say this justly of the general Tendency of the present Opposition, it would be highly unjust to make no Distinction, or to charge the Bulk of those Individuals, of which this *Faction* has been hitherto composed, with the *same Principles*.—We do it not;—we are very sensible that different Motives of Discontent, and even of mistaken Honesty, have certainly drawn in many well-meaning Men to associate with them. Yet I must freely say thus much even of these, and of all who are concerned with them, that though they may

escape the Depth of Censure, which is due to those by whom they are thus pitifully led, they are not wholly free from Blame, in tampering with Government, without taking any Pains to inform themselves ; and some of them are undoubtedly guilty of a Crime, not so easily excused, *viz.* that of resigning their Judgments to other Men (as it is too much the Case of all Parties) with a View, one Time or other, to promote or advance their private Interests by it. The Corruption is equal, to abandon the Will to the *Prospect* of Advantage, as to the *Possession* of it ; and it is consequently as wicked to oppose for the *Expectation* (though more popularly wicked) as to support Government for the *present Profit* of Employments. — God and themselves only know how many of the *Faction* are culpable in this. — But let them weigh it well, and whether the Danger to the Publick is not equal in both Cases. — Others there are, who, from want of Courage to stand against unjust Calumny, are dragged along, against their Wills, by the Fury of their Party, — of these no better can be said, than that they are Cowards, and do not deserve the Name of Men. — There is yet another Class, whose Interest in their Counties and their Boroughs, compel them to flatter the heated Imaginations, corrupt Principles, or fluctuating Humours of those they represent ; but this, if duly considered, is as great Corruption as the rest, and the Bottom of it is nothing better than unwarrantable Vanity, or a Preference of their own private Interest to that of the Commonwealth. — And there is yet a fourth Set of Men, who by their Pride and Resentments to the Crown, or to the Administration, for that want of Deference and Respect, which cannot be extended to all who deserve it, and is often expected by those who deserve it not, are driven into this Extravagance. — Though this is indeed that Evil to which generous Spirits are the most exposed, yet no considerate Man can think, that this, or any Motive in the World, can be a sufficient Excuse for any one to concur in the Destruction of his Country.

If the Bulk of those who now associate with this *Faction* reflect carefully upon these Things, and if all under these different Circumstances, edify as they ought to do by these Reflections, I may venture to affirm, that it will, in a short Time, make that Figure, which it is the Wish of every honest Man to see it make. Leaving therefore these Gentlemen to their own Reflections, I shall now sum up what I have chiefly endeavoured to inculcate in the preceding Pages, in a few Considerations, which I submit to the general Mass of Men.

I. Whether the Avowal of Principles, and the Pursuit of a Conduct directly tending to serve, save, and aggrandize, and
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to divert the Attention of the People from the Danger of their Eternal and Implacable Enemy the *French*, obstructing all Means for the Support, and giving up the Balance, of Power, under Pretences either of Inability, Inutility; on any Plea whatever, labouring to destroy the Faith of our Treaties, and contending for the Desertion of our Allies, suggesting an absurd, infamous and evidently disproved Proposition, that we fight only for the Service of a Foreign Territory, endeavouring to prejudice the People against the *Whigs*, and to poison the whole Affections of the Nation to their *present Prince*, and to the *Protestant Succession*, was not the direct Conduct, in all its Parts, of a *Jacobite Faction*, under the delusive Title of a *Tory Party*, in the Reigns of King *William* and Queen *Anne*?

2. Let them consider, to what Point they were hurried by that *Faction*. Whether it did not end in the Preservation of *France*, whom nothing else could have then saved, and in the Confusion of their own Country, which nothing less than the Providence of God could have afterwards preserved? Whether the Fruits of the Blood of 200,000 Men, and of 70 Millions of Money spent in that late long War, were not cast away by this Conduct of that *Faction*? Whether the Restoration of *France*, has not created 30 Millions of unnecessary Expence since that Time, a Rebellion which cost a *Million* in the next Reign, the Necessity of double the Army in Times of Peace, that we should otherwise have had Occasion to maintain, and the vast Expences we must now incur anew, to reduce within due Bounds the exorbitant Power of the House of *Bourbon*?

3. Whether there be any other Way to learn the Principles of Men, than by comparing their former with their present Conduct, or to judge of the future Effects of their present, but by the past Consequences of their former Conduct? Whether the very individual Methods are not now pursued by the present Opposition, that were pursued by the *Jacobite Faction* of that Time? Whether therefore any Man who can reason at all, can conclude the present Opposition (whatever Pretences it may use, or whatever Title it may bear) to be any other than a direct and apparent Faction of the same Kind?

4. Whether the same Tree must not, by all the Laws of Nature, constantly produce the same Fruit; the like Causes, the like Effects; and then what must be the Fruit and the Effect of the Measures of the present Faction?

5. Let the *Tories* in particular (I speak not to those *Jacobites* who assume the Name, but to those who are really no more than honest and well-meaning Men, and such in general they are, who have inherited that Appellation because their
Parents

Parents were such, or because of their Interests in their Corporations, or the Company they keep) let these, I say, consider, whether they ever got any Thing by joining with a *Jacobite Faction*, but Misery to their Country, and Shame to themselves? Whether they were ever led by a *Jacobite Faction*, but that they became their Dupes? Whether they were ever engaged with a *Jacobite Faction*, but they were brought to repent, and forced to recant at last? Whether they ever knew their Men, or saw their Danger, till it was almost too late to repent, and useless to recant? Whether they have not ever been carried away by *Names* instead of *Things*? And whether the Cry about *Hanover* now, is not what the Cry about the *Church* was formerly, raised and fomented with as little Reason, and for the same vile Purpose? Whether they have not too much *Honesty* to support an Alliance with a *Jacobite Faction*, to its End and Issue? Let them reflect, whether by acting as they now do, they put it not out of the Power of their best intentioned Friends to abolish those unhappy Party-Distinctions, which every well-meaning Man sincerely wishes to destroy? and which he will sincerely labour to destroy (whenever their Moderation can make it safe or possible) by a just and equal Advancement of Merit, where ever it is found in *Individuals* among them? But let them consider fairly, how apt they have been on all Occasions to associate with, and to be guided by, Men of worse Principles, and for this Reason, whether they can expect it, while they unite with these Men, and while they claim it as a *Party*, which is their present Case.

6. Let the few *Republicans*, and *Whigs*, whose Heat, Passions and Disappointments have steeled them into the Temper of *Republicans*, consider, whether a *Republican*, and such a *Whig*, when in Alliance with a *Jacobite Faction*, is any thing else, or better, than the *Jackall* to the *Lyon*, with whom he is, for a Time, allowed the Honour to hunt, but with whom he will never be permitted to divide the Prey; Let them analyse that Philter, they have taken to stimulate this unnatural Affection, and reflect that such a Copulation can engender nothing but a Monster.

*Quale Portentum neque Militaris
Dæmonia in latis alit Ejsculetis;
Nec Jubaæ Tellus generat.* ————— Hor.

7. Let the honest *Whigs* consider, how often their Firmness and good Sense have saved their Country, and whether any thing but Union among themselves can do it now? Whether particular Points, though most undeniably suited to the *Whig Principle*, ought to be pursued, nay may not even consistently be

be for a Time opposed by *Whigs*, in a Conjunction, when by a Chain of Circumstances, that Pursuit would not be only vain in itself, but tend to destroy the *Whig Interest*?—Whether the Support of *that* ought not to be the primary Consideration? And whether the gaining a few popular Laws (were this even certainly the Case) at the Expence of *that*, would be for the Benefit of this Country? Whether the popular Laws we now have, or those we might perhaps acquire, could be long preserved after the Ruin of that Interest? Whether therefore it is not below the Understanding of a *Whig*, to drop the *Substance* in this manner for the *Shadow*? Whether for this Reason it is not more prudent to content ourselves awhile with what we have already, and to wait a safer Opportunity to exert ourselves for the farther Improvement of our Constitution? Whether we should not make a foolish Bargain for our Country, if while we were hunting after some seemingly convenient, but yet (after all) precarious Advantages at home, we should suffer a Foreign Power insensibly to become our Master? Or while we were too passionately engaged in pushing for the farther Advancement of our Liberty, we should rashly throw our Government into the Hands of a Family, who must in all Probability destroy it, or gradually wrest out of that Line, which is demonstrably most likely to preserve it?—Whether therefore it is not our Business, in our present Situation, to settle and consolidate our Government, which has been not a little shaken in the Tempest of the late Times, than (before that is done) to run any new Risque, in attempting to be *better than well*.

8. Let the Publick consider fairly, whether every one of those Points, upon which they have been of late so furiously inflamed, are not wilfully and wickedly misrepresented, and already proved, by the Event, to be notoriously false in every Instance?—As to the Refusal of the *Hessians* to march,—the Inability of the *Hanoverians* to act,—the Accession of the *Dutch*—the Infidelity of the King of *Sardinia*,—the unjust Reflections on the King, as not intending to assist in his Electoral Capacity,—the Vote of the King of *Prussia*,—the Impossibility of saving the Queen of *Hungary*, and of resisting *France*;—let them reflect, to what we should have been reduced, if we had followed the Advice of the *Faction*, and then resolve, whether they can follow them any longer, without Ignominy to themselves, and Destruction to their Country?

9. Let the Popular Interest consider, as to all their Popular Pursuits, what was their Original View in Opposition? with what they would have been contented, and for what they would have willingly compounded a little Time ago? And if their Ex-
pectations

pectations are to grow with their Success, how they can ever be contended? Whether they have not got the End? and if they have, whether it is not Folly to pursue the Means? Whether if the Power of the Crown, and of the Lords, were greatly less, the Commons could be long without engrossing all? Let them examine, whether it is not their Nature, and that of every People, to rise in their Demands for Power, as they encrease in it? Whether, if they had as much more, as some very honestly, though very inconsiderately, contend for, they could curb this Nature in themselves? and whether if they had so much and could not curb it, the whole Legislature could prevent their having all? Whether their having all would be truly for their Advantage? Whether in any one Period of our Government they had half so much? And finally (if they can be impartial and reason fairly) whether it is not evident, that their present Views and Discontents are not, in some measure, owing to what they have already? Whether those Gentlemen, who quitted the late Opposition, at the Time they did it, instead of deserting, have not saved their Country? Whether they have not acted the Part of a tender Physician to a sick Patient? Whether, if they have deceived the People, (as it is call'd) they have not done it, because there was no other way to bring them to do that which was necessary for their Health? And whether the *People* are not as unjust to these Men, after what has been done by their Means, as the *Patient* would be, who after he was cured of a dangerous Disease, should quarrel with his Physician, for having given him too good an Opinion of his Medicine, during the Time of his Distemper, or abuse him for desisting afterwards to prescribe the farther Use of it for his daily Food.

10. Let them then consider how they can answer, either to God or to their Country, that wicked and cruel Treatment they have given to those true Patriots, who have stood their Ground, with equal Steadiness, against the late Minister, and the present tempestuous *Faction*; and how they can ever make these Men amends, for the Insults they have received, for the Loss of their Interests in their Respective Countries, and the Foundation they have laid of the future Difficulties they must infallibly hereafter undergo, by the Revival of a *Faction*, which, when once raised, will never fail to prosecute and infest all honest Men? Or what Retaliation is it in their Power to give to those, who by popular Credulity, Folly, Passion and Intemperance, have endured that Load of Infamy and Malice, which has been cast upon them with such unparalleled Injustice, and which a worthy Man would have sooner submitted

ted to Death, than have suffered an Hour, if the Safety of his Country and every Thing, that was near, dear and valuable to it, had not depended upon this Sacrifice?

11. Let the People consider, (and they will consider it, if they have any Remorse in the Composition of their Souls) how they ought to blush at the base Encouragement they have given to the personal Abuse of his Majesty; who instead of listning to the insidious Offers of *France*, as some other great Electors of the Empire have done, and instead of projecting any Advantage to his Foreign Dominions, which he might have greatly encreased out of the Spoil of the House of *Austria*, if he would have basely concurred to its Destruction; and which, (notwithstanding all the impudent Assertions of the *Faction*,) there is no Prospect of his being able to encrease any other way, hath put himself to a very great Expence, from the very Commencement of the present Confusions of *Europe*, and exposed those Dominions to the utmost Hazard with no other View, but to maintain the Cause of Justice, the Balance of Power, and the Interest of *Great Britain*. Let them examine themselves. Let them examine the Situation of his Countries, the Power, Views, Titles and Interests of all his Neighbours; and let them point out one single Spot of Ground, that it is possible for him, in the Nature of Things, to acquire in addition to his Electoral Dominions, by the Issue of this Contest.—And let them afterwards reflect how scandalous beyond all Measure, it has been to convert that very Hazard, and the Difficulties into which he and his Electorate have been lately brought, by his Attachment to the sole Interest of this Country, into the wicked Pretence, that his Tenderness to those Dominions, which he so freely ventured, has been the Cause of the War, and the Motive of his generous Conduct. Let them examine themselves, how ungratefully and wickedly they have concurred, upon Grounds so utterly false, to alienate the Affection of the Nation, from the Person and Family of a Prince, who has sacrificed every private Interest to the Interests of *Great Britain*,—who has supported his Ally with that Steadiness, Sincerity, and good Faith, which would have rendered a private Man an Ornament to the Society in which he lived,—who, in this Just, and Necessary Cause, has exposed his Person to the Dangers of War, as much as the meanest private Soldier in his Armies,—and is now at the Head of his Troops, in a Foreign Country, animating the Courage of the *British* Nation, and restoring the Antient Glory of the Royal Race of *Plantagenets*, from which he is descended, the bravest Line of Princes that ever sat upon the Throne of any Nation.

12. Let them reflect upon their Ingratitude to Providence, and their more than *Jewish* Obstinacy, and Hardness of Heart, in the Insensibility shewn by so many upon the great Deliverance they have lately had, in their Escape from the imminent Dangers threatned to the Liberties of the whole World, and in the late miraculous Turn that has appeared in our Favour since the late Change of the Administration.

13. Let them consider, that if we improve these Advantages as we ought, we have now a Confederacy formed (with farther Prospects of additional Aid) consisting of above 300,000 of the best Troops in *Europe*; that we come fresh into the Quarrel; that *France*, by the entire Ruin of the Emperor, is left without Allies, reduced, by a Series of ill Success, and unfortunate Events, to the lowest Degree.—And that therefore, if we follow the Blow, we have the fairest Expectation, not only to get out of the Difficulties, which we had lately so much Reason to think would prove our Ruin, but to reduce that enormous Power within due Limits for a long Time to come, and that nothing but our own Impatience, and the delusive Practices of a *Jacobite Faction*, can hinder us now, from what they prevented once before by the same individual Arts, in a parallel Conjunction.—In a word, let any Man lay his Hand upon his Heart, and say whether he thinks we are never to expect, or can always avoid a War with *France*? And when he has answered (for who can honestly or rationally answer otherwise) that the Growth and Ambition of that Power, her Breach of Treaties, our Rivalship in Trade, the natural Antipathy and Jealousies of the two Nations, must bring it unavoidably upon us in a short Time, though we should decline it for the present; let him then say, whether there can be any Sense left in the People of *England*, if they are not earnestly desirous to enter into it, and to push it with the utmost Vigour now? When we can do it with so manifest Advantage? When we stand in a Situation, in which we can hardly hope ever to find ourselves again? At which we could not flatter ourselves to arrive hereafter, even in three Campaigns, attended with the most miraculous Success?—And in fine, as to the Method of the War, whether any thing is more chimerical than the modern Fancy, of engaging with *France*, by our Maritime Force only? Whether the Trade of *England* would not suffer, during the Continuance of such a War, as much, if not more, than the Trade of *France*?—Whether *France* has not greater Resources without Trade, or during a Suspension of Trade, than *England*? Whether therefore any Distress that we might create to *France* by such a War, would be more than temporary, or could be sufficient to bring it to a
safe

safe or sound Conclusion? Whether we can imagine effectually or durably to reduce her, or to secure ourselves for any long Continuance against her Power, by any other means, than by dismembring some of her ill-gotten Provinces, and preventing any farther Encrease of her Dominions upon the Continent? Whether this *can be* done otherwise, than by joining with *her Enemies* and *our Allies* in a *Land War*? And if this *cannot be* done otherwise (whatever may be the Expence or Inconvenience of such an *Undertaking*) whether it is not Madness, or something worse, to oppose its being *undertaken*.

Should these Considerations have no Effect upon the Publick, we are a Nation doom'd and devoted to Destruction: Our Government will be overturned by false, captivating and deceitful Maxims; our Constitution overwhelmed and buried in the Ruins of *Faction*. What Fabrick the Enemies of this Country may rebuild, is neither yet known to themselves or me; nor when this happy Form of Government, the venerable Work of so many Ages shall be no more: Will it be much worth the while of any Man among us to regard? Instead therefore of fomenting every Subject of Uneasiness, ungratefully repining at every Blessing and Advantage, which we so visibly and abundantly enjoy, above all other Kingdoms of this habitable Earth, let us turn our Thoughts upon that immense Wealth, Power and Dominion, which is still in the Train of Great Augmentation; upon that Constitutional Security, however wickedly misrepresented, which we still, in a high degree, enjoy at home, and the Terror, which upon all just Occasions, we are able to strike through Foreign Nations. Instead of dwelling upon improbable and distant Dangers, which certainly never were so far removed from us, as at this very Time, let us reflect upon our uncommon, and almost unprecedented Happiness. Instead of alarming our Minds, and heating our Imaginations with the Stories of Evils that have attended the Loss of Liberty in other Countries, in which, during the Course of the late Opposition, we have been sufficiently instructed, let us for a while apply ourselves to a Study more necessary at this Time, that of tracing the true Causes, which have brought this Loss of Liberty, and those Evils which attend it, upon Every People, who once were, and are now no longer free. If we do this, we shall learn, that perfect Liberty and immense Riches, with its constant Attendants, Licentiousness, Luxury, an unbounded Thirst after Wealth, a Want of Morals, and an Impatience of all Government and Discipline, fomented by the *Factions* of private Men, for their own private Ambition, cloaked under publick Pretences, have ripened and brought to Maturity all these Mischiefs

chiefs in the World. Let us therefore, conscious of our Prosperity, and sensible of the Dangers to which we naturally stand by that very Prosperity exposed, fly the delusive Arts of factious Men, who now endeavour to avail themselves of these Circumstances, and practise upon us in the Manner they have ever done in all former Ages : *Ut imperium evertant Libertatem præferunt, cum perverterent ipsam aggrediuntur. Ceterum Libertas et speciosa nomina prætexuntur. Nec quisquam alienum servitium, et dominationem sibi concupivit, ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparet.* Tacit. Hist. Lib. 4.



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